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    NATIONAL CAPITOL CONTRACTING
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    MARKUP OF H.R. 3229; H.R. 620; H. RES. 488
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    Thursday, September 7, 2017
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    House of Representatives,
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    Committee on the Judiciary,
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    Washington, D.C.
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         The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:23 a.m., in
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    Room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Bob Goodlatte
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    [chairman of the committee] presiding.
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         Present: Representatives Goodlatte, Sensenbrenner,
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    Smith, Chabot, Issa, King, Franks, Gohmert, Jordan, Poe,
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    Marino, Gowdy, Labrador, Farenthold, Collins, Buck,
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    Ratcliffe, Gaetz, Johnson of Louisiana, Biggs, Rutherford,
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    Handel, Convers, Nadler, Lofgren, Jackson Lee, Cohen,
17
    Johnson of Georgia, Bass, Jeffries, Cicilline, Swalwell,
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    Lieu, Raskin, Jayapal, and Schneider.
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         Staff Present: Shelley Husband, Staff Director; Branden
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    Ritchie, Deputy Staff Director; Zach Somers, Parliamentarian
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and General Counsel; Joe Keeley, Chief Counsel, Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and the Internet; John Coleman, Counsel, Subcommittee on the Constitution and Civil Justice; Meg Barr, Counsel, Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations; Alley Adcock, Clerk; James Park, Minority Chief Counsel; Jason Everett, Minority Chief Intellectual Property & Courts Counsel; Aaron Hiller, Minority Chief Oversight Counsel; Susan Jensen, Minority Counsel; David Greengrass, Minority Counsel; Monalisa Dugue, Minority Deputy Chief Counsel; Matthew Morgan, Minority Counsel; Danielle Brown, Minority Legislative Counsel and Parliamentarian; Veronica Eligan, Minority Professional Staff Member; Elizabeth McElvein, Professional Staff; Rachel Calanni, Professional Staff Member; Arya Hariharan, Minority Counsel; Perry Apelbaum, Minority Chief Counsel and Staff Director; and Wilsar Johnson, Minority Digital Director.

38	Chairman Goodlatte. Good morning. The Judiciary
39	Committee will come to order, and without objection, the
40	chair is authorized to declare a recess at any time.
41	Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 3229 for purposes of
42	markup and move that the committee report the bill favorably
43	to the House. The clerk will report the bill.
44	Ms. Adcock. H.R. 3229, to protect the safety of judges
45	by extending the authority of the Judicial Conference to
46	redact sensitive information contained in their financial
47	disclosure reports and for other purposes.
48	[The bill follows:]
49	****** INSERT 1 ******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the bill is considered as read and open for amendment at any time, and I will begin by recognizing myself for an opening statement. Security issues are a reality for the judicial branch. Security of witnesses, family members, and the accused requires specific procedures and even building designs. These security needs are often able to be identified and planned for in advance.

However, the most critical security issue, the security of judges themselves, is one that has proven more challenging. Although judges hear high-profile criminal cases in which the defendant is an obvious security risk, it is not always a criminal defendant who might pose a risk to a judge.

A disgruntled litigant who has lost a civil case may be even more of a threat to a judge than a known gang member who is smart enough to know that threats on a Federal judge, never mind actual efforts toward that end, are a guaranteed way to extend one's sentence for decades.

Thus, the work of protecting Federal judges is a challenging mission. Congress has allocated resources to provide protection of judges by the Marshals Service, which seeks to minimize risks to judges. Public availability of the home address or other locations associated with a judge or a family member is an undue risk.

In response to these concerns, Congress, in 1998, authorized Federal judges to request that certain information be redacted from their financial disclosure forms subject to the input of the Marshals Service and approval by a review committee of the judicial branch. This authority was extended in 2005 to cover the information of family members who are, unfortunately, also at risk of disgruntled litigants. Several Federal judges and family members have been assassinated in recent years.

The legislation before the committee today would extend the existing redaction authority that is about to expire at the end of this calendar year by 10 years to December 31, 2027. I have joined Mr. Jeffries, Chairman Issa, and Ranking Member Conyers as cosponsor of this important legislation, and I thank Congressman Jeffries for his leadership on this issue.

I urge my colleagues to support this important judicial security legislation. It is now my pleasure to recognize the ranking member of the committee, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Conyers, for his opening statement.

[The opening statement of Chairman Goodlatte follows:]

96 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Mr. Conyers. Thank you, Chairman Goodlatte. Members of the committee, H.R. 3229 is a bipartisan, commonsense measure intended to protect the safety of Federal judges and judicial employees. The bill accomplishes this goal by extending the authority of the Judicial Conference to redact sensitive information contained in the financial disclosure reports filed by these individuals pursuant to the Ethics in Government Act of 1978. Specifically, H.R. 3229 would extend this authority for 10 years; that is, until December 31, 2027.

As an original cosponsor and strong supporter of this bill, I have several reasons to share with you. To begin with, absent a further extension of this authority, the Judicial Conference's ability to redact sensitive personal information from the financial disclosure statements filed by judges and judicial employees would cease and thereby create potential serious security risks to these individuals.

Judges and judicial employees are often the subject of threats, harassment, and sometimes violence. Like probation officers, these individuals routinely interact with disgruntled litigants and convicted criminals who may hold grudges against them. A disgruntled litigant seeking to take revenge for a judicial decision can learn of a Federal judge's home address, his or her spouse's place of

employment, or a child's school, among other sensitive information by requesting a copy of the judge's financial disclosure report.

During 2016, for instance, a Federal judge was shot in front of his home, a murder-for-hire plot against a Federal judge was uncovered, and threatening letters were sent to other judges. Fortunately, section 105 of the Ethics in Government Act grants the Judicial Conference the authority to redact certain limited information from financial disclosure reports when the release of such information could endanger a judge, a judicial employee, or a member of their family. Congress has extended this redaction authority on five previous occasions, most recently on January 3, 2012.

And finally, another reason I support this measure is that the Judicial Conference has exercised its redaction authority with demonstrated restraint. As required by the Ethics in Government Act, the Conference has promulgated regulations requiring a clear nexus between a security risk and the need to redact sensitive information.

In addition, the Act requires the Judicial Conference to report annually to Congress on the number and nature of redactions, as well as the reasons for them. Based on a review of these reports, it is clear that only a small percentage of the financial disclosure reports filed contain

147 an approved redaction of some information in the report. 148 For example, over the past 5 years, an average of only 2.7 149 percent of financial reports contained an approved redaction 150 of some information. 151 Finally, the need to extend this redaction authority, 152 which will expire in just over 3 months, is a time-sensitive 153 security measure that requires prompt consideration of H.R. 154 3229. Extending this redaction authority is needed to avoid 155 life-threatening consequences to those public servants who 156 serve in the Federal judicial branch. 157 Accordingly, I urge all of my colleagues here on this 158 committee to support H.R. 3229, which will simply extend the 159 Judicial Conference's current redaction authority for an 160 additional 10 years. 161 In closing, I want to add my commendations to Congressman Hakeem Jeffries for his leadership on this 162 163 important legislation. And I yield back the balance of my 164 time and thank the chairman. 165 [The opening statement of Mr. Conyers follows:] 166 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

167	Chairman Goodlatte. Thank you, Mr. Conyers. I would
168	now like to recognize the chairman of the Courts
169	Subcommittee and one of the sponsors of this legislation,
170	the gentleman from California, Mr. Issa, for his opening
171	statement.
172	Mr. Issa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I ask unanimous
173	consent my entire statement be placed in the record.
174	Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, it will be.
175	[The prepared statement of Mr. Issa follows:]
176	****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Mr. Issa. Thank you. And I will summarize. Both you and the ranking member have said very well why we have a need for judges to have limited redaction for security purposes.

I would like to just add to that that during the August recess, I met with representatives of each of the areas of the ninth circuit. And there were so many issues that would face them, including the ninth circuit judges from Guam, who look to North Korea, and yet the number one issue and concern they had was for their families.

In our own Southern California, San Diego district, recently, this committee was able to authorize the -- sorry for the echo -- was able to authorize additional security capability for the children in daycare of Federal workers.

The bigger issue is not just what we will do today.

The bigger issue is, in this environment, how do we make sure that the judiciary remains independent? One critical element of their independence is their personal security when making tough decisions -- decisions that are, in fact, including life or death of criminals and gang members.

So in addition to what the chairman and ranking member said, I think it is so important that we take every step to ensure that these article three judges, their families, and their key employees find themselves without fear for their life when they make some of the toughest decisions anyone

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Mr. Jeffries. Thank you Chairman Goodlatte, Ranking Member Conyers, and Congressman Issa for your leadership in working to advance this time-sensitive legislation. H.R. 3229 will extend for 10 years the soon-expiring authority for Federal judges and high-ranking judicial officers to redact from financial disclosure statements sensitive personal information that, if revealed, could compromise their safety and security or that of their family members.

An independent judiciary that is free of coercion is fundamental to our constitutional democracy, fundamental to the principles of liberty and justice for all, and fundamental to the principle of equal protection under the law. Unfortunately, there are some bad actors who seek to compromise the integrity of the judicial branch through threats, harm, and harassment.

According to the U.S. Marshals Service, in fiscal year 2017, there has been an increase in every major recorded statistical category regarding inappropriate communications, security risks, and the targeting of members of the Federal bench and high-level employees of the judiciary. The need to extend redaction authority is therefore a time-sensitive security matter. Failure to extend this authority will create severe security risks to judges, judiciary employees, and their families.

Federal judges and other employees of the article three

independent judiciary branch, like probation officers, routinely interact with disgruntled litigants, convicted criminals, and others who may seek to do harm to them. For that reason, I urge my colleagues to support this bipartisan bill, legislation that will support the continued prudent, restrained use of the Judicial Conference's redaction authority, which, as has been stated before, has been used carefully and reasonably.

In fact, as has been mentioned, each year, only a very small percentage of the financial disclosure reports filed contained an approved redaction of some information in the report based on a clear nexus between a security risk and the information for which redaction is sought.

Again, I thank all of my colleagues for their support, in particular, Chairman Goodlatte, Ranking Member Conyers, and Mr. Issa, for their leadership, and look forward to working together to advance this measure on the House floor. And I yield back.

[The opening statement of Mr. Jeffries follows:]

263 ******* COMMITTEE INSERT *******

264	Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman.
265	Are there any amendments to H.R. 3229? A reporting quorum
266	being present, the question is on the motion to report the
267	bill H.R. 3229 favorably to the House.
268	Those in favor will say aye.
269	Those opposed, no.
270	The ayes have it, and the bill is ordered reported
271	favorably. Members will have 2 days to submit views.
272	Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 620 for purposes
273	of markup and move that the committee report the bill
274	favorably to the House. The clerk will report the bill.
275	Ms. Adcock. H.R. 620, to amend the Americans with
276	Disabilities Act of 1990 to promote compliance through
277	education, to clarify the requirements for demand letters,
278	to provide for a notice and cure period before the
279	commencement of a private civil action, and for other
280	purposes.
281	[The bill follows:]
282	****** INSERT 2 ******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the bill is considered as read and open for amendment at any time, and I will begin by recognizing myself for an opening statement.

H.R. 620, the ADA Education and Reform Act of 2017, improves the public accommodations provisions under Title III of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush in 1990.

Title III provides individuals with disabilities the full and equal enjoyment of goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, or accommodations of any place of public accommodation, which means places open to the public like retail stores, hotels, theaters, restaurants, and healthcare facilities.

This law is a critical tool for disabled individuals to gain access to public accommodations. In addition to providing a right of action to the Attorney General to enforce the law, the ADA authorizes a private right of action for any aggrieved party to seek injunctive relief as well as attorneys' fees and costs.

Unfortunately, private sector enforcement of the ADA has led to the abuse of our legal system in many cases.

Some plaintiffs' attorneys in ADA public accommodation cases have received deservedly unfavorable press coverage in papers across the country. Rather than putting their clients' interests in better access first, some appear to be

more interested in securing a quick payday.

One common tactic used by opportunistic attorneys is to file mass claims against small businesses and then settle for just less than it would cost those mom-and-pop businesses to defend themselves in court. This tactic was highlighted by David Weiss, who testified on behalf of the International Council of Shopping Centers at this committee's hearing on May 19, 2016.

Mr. Weiss stated, "The problem that the private sector faces is an increasing number of lawsuits typically brought by a few plaintiffs in various jurisdictions and often by the same lawyers for very technical and usually minor violations. It has become all too common for property owners to settle these cases as it is less expensive to settle them than to defend them, even if the property owner is compliant. Is it often too costly to prove that a property owner is doing what is right or required.

Therefore, the property owner makes a rational business decision, commonly resulting in settlement."

Given that plaintiffs' attorneys' motives are often monetary, there is little or no incentive to work with businesses to cure a violation before a lawsuit is filed. This unintended result wastes resources on attorneys' fees that could have been used to improve access sooner. This delays justice.

H.R. 620 remedies these problems by allowing businesses a finite period of time before a private enforcement lawsuit can be filed to fix defects on their premises once they are notified that their premises do not comply with the ADA. This will reduce abuses of the law by opportunistic lawyers and will result in more access for the disabled because it encourages businesses to cure their access issues now in order to avoid costly litigation later.

Moreover, we have met with members of the business community and disability community together and individually regarding this bill, and we are eager to continue the conversation about how to improve accessibility.

Consideration of today's bill is a step closer to ensuring that every man, woman, and child is given equal access to public accommodations as well as improving the enforcement practices of private parties under Title III.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation. It is now my pleasure to recognize the ranking member of the committee, the gentleman from Michigan, for his opening statement.

[The opening statement of Chairman Goodlatte follows:]

354 ******* COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Mr. Conyers. Thank you, Chairman Goodlatte. Members of Judiciary Committee, H.R. 620, the so-called ADA Education and Reform Act, would institute a notice and cure requirement under Title III of the Americans with Disability Act of 1990. Specifically, the bill would prohibit a lawsuit from being commenced unless the plaintiff first gave the business owner specific notice of an alleged violation and an opportunity to fix or make substantial progress toward remedying such violation.

Now, let me be clear. I am adamantly opposed to any effort to weaken the ability of individuals to enforce their rights under Title III's public accommodation provisions. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights joins with me and those opposing H.R. 620 because it would remove incentives for businesses to comply with the law unless people with disabilities are denied access, which "would lead to the continued exclusion of people with disabilities from the mainstream of society and would turn back the clock on disability rights in America."

Now, to begin with, H.R. 620's notice and cure requirement will generate numerous litigation traps for the unwary and ultimately dissuade many individuals from pursuing even legitimate claims. For example, the bill does not require that a business actually comply with the law, and only requires that it makes substantial progress towards

compliance without defining that obviously vague term. Nor does the bill make clear who determines when an aggrieved party or a business owner has met any of the bill's procedural requirements.

As a result, courts will have to struggle to determine what these inherently vague terms mean, thereby creating an open invitation for well-financed business interests to engage in endless litigation that would drain the typically limited resources of a plaintiff, potentially deny that person their day in court, and dissuading future plaintiffs from even filing suit.

Now, in addition, H.R. 620 would undermine a key enforcement mechanism of the Americans with Disabilities Act and other civil rights laws. The credible threat of a lawsuit is a powerful inducement for businesses to proactively take care to comply with the Act's requirements. Yet a pre-notification requirement would create a disincentive -- a disincentive -- to engage in voluntary compliance, as many businesses would simply wait until receiving a demand letter before complying with the law.

This requirement would also discourage attorneys from representing individuals with claims under Title III because attorneys' fees may only be recovered if litigation ensues. Thus, an individual with a Title III claim would not be entitled to recover such fees if the extent of the

attorney's representation was effectively limited to drafting the demand letter. Pre-suit notification would make it even more difficult for those with a valid Title III claim or claims to obtain legal representation to enforce their rights.

And finally, Title III, by its terms, is already designed to make compliance easy for businesses. For instance, Title III defines discrimination with some deference to business entrance. It requires owners to remove barriers to access only if doing so is "easily accomplishable and able to be carried out without much difficulty or expense." In addition, businesses are provided tax benefits to encourage compliance and can obtain free technical assistance from the Justice Department to assist with compliance.

Voluntary compliance is key to Title III's success, but this measure, H.R. 620, threatens to erode such compliance. And therefore, I have no other alternative but to oppose H.R. 620 and urge that the members of this committee do the same. I thank the chairman and yield back.

[The opening statement of Mr. Conyers follows:]

426 | ******* COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Chairman Goodlatte. I thank the gentleman, and it is now my pleasure to recognize the chief sponsor of the legislation, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Poe, for his opening statement.

Mr. Poe. I thank the chairman. I want to make this comment about the ranking member's statement, who I have great respect for. The gentleman knows that I admire him for a lot of reasons, and I admire what you have to say on everything. We see this piece of legislation different, however, and so I respectfully disagree with the ranking member's position on this.

The ADA is a real good piece of legislation that was written in 1990. And the purpose of the legislation is to make sure that all folks have access to all businesses. And businesses need to comply with the law so that, generally, people can have access to that business. But since 1990, this piece of legislation, which I think is great -- I got two parents that are in their 90s, and this bill helps them -- the 1990 bill. But legislation has been abused, and it has been abused by people who really, I think, are taking advantage of the bill, of the law, to their own personal favor.

It has nothing to do with access. It has everything to do with shakedown, that businesses are getting shakedown letters from lawyers who represent people who may or may not

have ever been on that piece of property alleging a very vague violation of the ADA. And rather than submit to the lawsuit that the lawyer with a plaintiff threatens in this vague letter, they pay the money. Unfortunately, our legal system works that way. It is cheaper to settle even a frivolous lawsuit in these cases than it is to go to court and defend the lawsuit.

And we have had testimony. We had testimony last year, and that is why this piece of legislation, H.R. 620, is bipartisan legislation. It is not a Republican deal. It is a bipartisan legislation, because many of my fellow Democrats have seen in their area these same shakedowns by different lawyers, and people sometimes who do not even live in the state where the violation has been alleged to occur. And so, they settle.

And all this legislation does is say if the goal is to fix the problem, then this legislation helps fix the problem. If the goal is to get money from businesses for lawyers and maybe plaintiffs, then we leave the system the way it is, because that is what is happening in some cases.

So, let's move to the direction of fix these problems. We want them fixed because we want folks to be able to go to all businesses. And therefore, let the business know of the problem, and be specific enough so they know what the problem is. Then the business has the responsibility to fix

the problem. They got 120 days to fix the problem or show that they are fixing the problem. And if the business does not do that, then the litigants, the lawyers, have at it. Sue them. Sue the business for noncompliance. Even the Federal Government can sue the business. But all it is doing is put the business on notice, give them a chance to fix it, and if they do not, you still have your remedy to lawsuit.

And these lawsuits have been such that out-of-towners have been saying, "Well, there needs to be a lift on your pool, swimming pool at a motel." Well, this particular motel that got this demand letter does not even have a swimming pool at that location. But yet it is cheaper for them to go ahead and settle than it is to go to court.

So some of these violations have been not real violations at all. They have been very vague, enough just to get a shakedown. And they send out multiple, multiple letters, and then some businesses pay the money. So, rather than read my opening statement, which I ask unanimous consent to be entered into the record.

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

[The opening statement of Mr. Poe follows:]

500 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

501 Mr. Poe. And I would ask that the letter to the 502 chairman and other members of the committee from 24 503 different associations supporting this legislation be 504 admitted as well. 505 Chairman Goodlatte. If the gentleman would yield? 506 Mr. Poe. Yes, sir. 507 Chairman Goodlatte. I will join in that unanimous 508 consent request with nine letters of support from a broad 509 coalition of organizations: the American Hotel and Lodging 510 Association, the Asian-American Hotel Owners Association, 511 the Building Owners and Managers Association, the 512 International Council of Shopping Centers, the National 513 Association of Realtors, the National Association of 514 Residential Property Managers, the National Association of 515 Theater Owners, and the National Restaurant Association. 516 I would ask unanimous consent that the letters referred 517 to by the gentleman from Texas and these letters be made a 518 part of the record. And without objection, they will be 519 made a part of the record. 520 [The information follows:] 521 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Mr. Poe. And I yield back to the chairman.

Chairman Goodlatte. I thank the gentleman, and the chair now recognizes the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Constitution and Civil Justice, Mr. Cohen of Tennessee, for his opening statement.

Mr. Cohen. Thank you, Mr. Chair. As Mr. Poe prefaced his remarks in his regard for Mr. Conyers, I have a regard for Judge Poe. We had great mutual friends in Houston going back in history, and we have similar thoughts on different issues concerning some of our foreign aid and other issues. We work together.

But on this particular piece of legislation, I think it shows the difficulty in why people say members of Congress cannot work together. Since we have had this, I have tried to come up with a solution that is in the middle, and what it has done is basically taken a lot of groups that I highly respect, Mr. Conyers respects, that are opposed to this legislation, to be against what I want to do. But I think it is the right thing to do, and to find a middle ground, and we have not been able to find it.

This bill -- and I find it kind of hard to fathom that the company with the swimming pool, the motel, was cheaper to settle than to go into court and go, "We do not have a swimming pool." I mean, you could do that pro se. But regardless of that, this bill would require pre-suit

notification to a business in violation of the public accommodations sections. Gives you 180 days to cure.

Lawsuits by private parties are essential to enforcement of Federal law, and especially civil rights laws. And the civil rights law makes private attorney generals an essential part of this legislation, because that is who enforces it: attorneys who bring actions. They are private attorney generals.

I detest the lawyers who may be doing the drive-by window, windshield, whatever-type cases, and I would like to find a way to not continue to give them encouragement to cause havoc on hotels and motels and motion picture folks and others who are just trying to do right and whose signs might be a half inch off or a foot off or not have a swimming pool or whatever. And there is a way to do it, and the way to do it is to amend this bill and to say that if a person, a company gets notice and they do not try to cure or show substantial efforts to cure, then there is some type of damages against them for not trying to cure the problem.

If -- and I do not doubt Judge Poe and others' interest in this -- but if their interest is seeing that bad guys get punished and good guys do not, if you have a case where you get a letter that you have got a defect and a violation and you do not cure it within a reasonable time, then you are a bad guy. And why should this legislation help bad guys?

And what my amendment that I am going to offer, and I tried to get put into the legislation, would say that the bad guy gets punished in some way with some amount of damages. That if they do not cure, then they are hurting the whole system, and they should pay. And they should.

Otherwise, they do not have an incentive, really, to cure any sooner than they do, and they are jeopardizing those people and hurting those people who are truly trying to correct the technical violations that may exist at their properties and use this law to their benefit as they should.

I say this as a person who has a disability, as a person who sponsored the Tennessee State disability law and passed it in the 1990s, and as a trial lawyer in a previous life who respects attorneys and what they do to protect the system and to bring people's actions forward.

So, I think there is a way to work this to where this law can work, but I think you have to find a way to punish the bad actor. Give a stick to the court to see that the bad guys are punished and the good guys are able to cure and not have to have a suit brought against them.

The proponents of this notice and cure legislation, I believe they are sincere in trying to help businesses comply. But it will, as Mr. Conyers says, probably deter some lawyers' -- legitimate lawyers' -- good intentions of bringing actions. But if notice and cure provisions are not

to become simply means for businesses to engage in dilatory litigation tactics on their side, there must be consequences, and there are not consequences in the bill.

Provisions should be added that sanction those business owners given up to 6 months to cure an alleged violation, if they fail to do so. If businesses want to have notice and cure provisions added to the ADA, they must accept some very real disincentives to use the notice and cure simply to delay or avoid compliance with the law. And my amendment which I will propose would address this concern.

I may not get any support on this side of the aisle because so many fine groups are against the bill. And I may not get any support on that side of the aisle because they think what they are doing is right. I think this middle ground makes sense.

My staff discouraged me from bringing it, but I felt like when you think you got something that is a better mouse trap, you ought to bring it forward. So, I am bringing it forward, hope that it will get serious consideration and passage and continue to give the ADA strength, legs so to speak, but at the same time discourage these attorneys who I think are questionable from having a reason to go after businesses that are not really in violation but just technical violation.

Hopefully, we can find that, and find a middle ground.

622	Mr. Conyers? Can I yield to Mr. Conyers? Do you have a
623	list of groups against this legislation?
624	Mr. Conyers. Yes. Thank you for yielding. I sure do.
625	Mr. Cohen. Would you like to introduce them in the
626	record, and
627	Mr. Conyers. I am going to put them in the record as
628	soon as you finish, and I begin my own amendment.
629	Mr. Cohen. Okay, well, then, maybe they may not hate
630	me as much for having put their statements in the record. I
631	yield back the balance of my time.
632	[The opening statement of Mr. Cohen follows:]
633	***** COMMITTEE INSERT ******
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634	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman's time has expired.
635	For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan seek
636	recognition?
637	Mr. Conyers. I have an amendment at the desk, Mr.
638	Chairman.
639	Chairman Goodlatte. Well, since amendments are in
640	order, the clerk will report the amendment.
641	Mr. Conyers. Thank you.
642	Ms. Adcock. Amendment to H.R. 620, offered by Mr.
643	Conyers of Michigan. Page four
644	[The amendment of Mr. Conyers follows:]
645	****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read, and the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. Conyers. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this amendment would allow potential plaintiffs alleging a violation of the Americans with Disabilities Act public accommodation provisions to recover compensatory and punitive damages.

As the Act was drafted, the disability rights community struck a bargain with the business community by giving up the ability to recover damages for failure to comply with the Act's public accommodations provisions in order to provide some flexibility for businesses in their attempts to comply with the law. As a result, the Act only allows a disabled person to obtain injunctive relief and attorneys' fees for violations of its public accommodations provisions.

In a sense, the lack of availability of damages is itself a barrier to the enforcement of the civil rights of disabled persons. This is because the lack of damages erode the ability of the potential plaintiffs to obtain legal representation, given that few attorneys would take on matters without the possibility of meaningful compensation.

And unfortunately, the negative effect of the compromise made in 1990 is proven by the fact that even though the Act has been in effect for 27 years, there

continues to be many businesses that have yet to comply with the Act's public accommodation requirements. H.R. 620 would only exacerbate this problem by forcing aggrieved disabled persons to wait for up to 6 months before filing suit. And even then, such individuals may be prohibited from filing suit if one or more of the bill's notice and cure provisions is not met.

It is difficult enough as it is for disabled persons to obtain legal representation to enforce their rights when businesses violate them. H.R. 620 would make such a difficult situation even worse.

Given that the bill would delay the ability of a disabled person to vindicate his or her rights in court, there must be some countervailing provision that would ensure that their ability to pursue a lawsuit is not further diminished by the bill's notice and cure provisions.

Allowing a plaintiff to recover damages, as my amendment does, would provide such balance by compensating somewhat for the further barrier to justice for disabled persons that the bill creates.

If the bill's proponents insist on upending the bargain struck 27 years ago between the disability rights and business communities, then it is only fair that disabled persons now be given the opportunity to recover damages.

And so, I urge my colleagues to support my amendment. I

thank the chairman and yield back the balance of my time. Iyield back.

Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas seek recognition?

Mr. Poe. I move to strike the last word.

Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Poe. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The original purpose of the bill is not changed because of this legislation. The original purpose of the bill, to fix these problems, is strengthened by this legislation, not diminished. The legislation has always allowed for a lawsuit. The lawsuit then gives attorneys' fees, some injunctive relief. Federal Government can administer civil penalties against businesses that do not comply.

And so, I oppose the amendment because it goes against the bill's original purpose, which is to resolve access issues under Title III without the need for litigation. The private enforcement provisions provided in Title III of the ADA are already a powerful tool to achieve greater accessibility through injunctive relief and through attorney fees and costs. Any remedies beyond what Title III provides would undermine the original purpose, which is to get problems fixed.

The gentleman has mentioned fines. California, the

State law, my understanding is that it allows for some punitive fines. California is the primary state where these abusive lawsuits are being filed, so that remedy has not stopped the lawsuits and has not fixed the problem. Go back to the original purpose of the 1990 bill was to get access to businesses by people who are disabled.

And all due respect, I oppose the gentleman's amendment for that purpose. It changes the original purpose of the legislation. And I yield back the remainder of my time.

Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman.

For what purpose does the gentleman from Georgia seek recognition?

Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Move to strike the last word.

Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5
minutes.

Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I rise in support of the Conyers amendment. You know, the ADA has been on the books for 27 years, since 1990. And so, therefore, business owners of existing properties, properties existing at that time, have had 27 years to bring their property into compliance with the ADA.

The ADA is worthy in that it promotes access to public accommodations for the disabled. They are people just like we are. They pay taxes just like we do. They deserve to enjoy public accommodations just like nondisabled persons

can. And so, the business community has had 27 years to bring itself into compliance with the ADA. And some properties have failed to do so for whatever reason, and those businesses find themselves subject to the ability of the disabled to force them to comply by filing a lawsuit and going through the judicial process.

Now, it is unfortunate that many property owners have a history of being out of compliance, getting demand letters, paying off the demand letters and still being out of compliance and never remedying the situation because it is too costly. Meanwhile, the property might change hands a couple of times, and an unsophisticated buyer of the property may end up with a property that is non-ADA compliant. Well, that is a matter of conducting your due diligence prior to the sale of the property.

So, you know, there can be a lot of reasons why properties are not in compliance with ADA standards. But the bottom line is when the issue is brought to their attention by a demand letter, by a lawyer, I mean, the property owner has a couple of choices at that point.

You can ignore the letter to your detriment; you can comply with the ADA, go through the cost of doing that as the law requires; or you can pay off the demand letter and let things lay as they have been. And then, you put the property up for sale, sell the property, and the next

unsuspecting purchaser then has to go through the same thing that you just went through. But the bottom line is all of this is bringing properties into ADA compliance, and that is what the purpose of the ADA Act, passed 27 years ago, was.

I assume that most properties that are coming online now are fully ADA compliant and do not have the problem of being out of compliance and subject to what some call frivolous lawsuits. But I do not refer to these lawsuits as being frivolous, and if they were, they would be subject to fees to the opposing party based on provisions of law that allow injured parties to recover for frivolous lawsuits filed against them.

So, I am opposed to putting more barriers, giving folks an additional 120 days to comply after they have had 27 years to comply. It just seems to me to create more burdens for the disabled. And for that reason, I support the amendment. I oppose the legislation, I yield back.

Mr. Chabot. [Presiding.] Thank you. Gentleman's time is expired. For what purpose does the gentlelady from Georgia seek recognition?

Ms. Handel. Mr. Chairman, move to strike the last word.

793 Mr. Chabot. The gentlelady is recognized for 5
794 minutes.

795 Ms. Handel. Thank you very much. First of all, I

would like to say that, you know, individuals with disabilities have really fought very diligently to make sure that we have a level playing field and equal access to especially properties. And I, for one, am not going to support anything that would ever undermine that.

However, with respect to my colleague with the amendment, I will oppose the amendment and support this bill for this reason: because I do not see it as any way a barrier to what we are trying to accomplish and what was put in place with the initial intent with ADA.

What it is doing is striving to find a way to give everyone the opportunity to achieve the access that we all want without having to do this in a courtroom. And that is to everyone's benefit, because at the end of the day, I would like to believe that every individual with or without a disability wants to make sure that we have access and that it is not about lawsuits and settlements.

The other very positive thing about this particular piece of legislation is that it does have within it a requirement to work with State and local governments and property owners to develop education programs so that we can all do a much better job, better job than what is even happening, to ensure that we have access for those with disabilities.

So, I will oppose the amendment, but support the bill.

821	And know that I believe it is everyone's intention to make
822	sure that we are strengthening ADA, not limiting it or
823	putting in place any barriers. Thank you. I yield, Mr.
824	Chairman.
825	Mr. Chabot. The gentlelady yields back. Does any
826	other member seek recognition? If not, the question is on
827	the amendment.
828	Those in favor, say aye.
829	Those opposed, say no.
830	In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
831	Mr. Conyers. May I have a record vote, sir?
832	Mr. Chabot. Record vote has been requested.
833	The clerk will call the roll.
834	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
835	[No response.]
836	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
837	[No response.]
838	Mr. Smith?
839	[No response.]
840	Mr. Chabot?
841	Mr. Chabot. No.
842	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes no.
843	Mr. Issa?
844	[No response.]
845	Mr. King?

846	Mr. King. No.
847	Ms. Adcock. Mr. King votes no.
848	Mr. Franks?
849	Mr. Franks. No.
850	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes no.
851	Mr. Gohmert?
852	Mr. Gohmert. No.
853	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes no.
854	Mr. Jordan?
855	Mr. Jordan. No.
856	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Jordan votes no.
857	Mr. Poe?
858	Mr. Poe. No.
859	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes no.
860	Mr. Marino?
861	Mr. Marino. No.
862	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes no.
863	Mr. Gowdy?
864	Mr. Gowdy. No.
865	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes no.
866	Mr. Labrador?
867	Mr. Labrador. No.
868	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes no.
869	Mr. Farenthold?
870	[No response.]

871	Mr. Collins?
872	Mr. Collins. No.
873	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no.
874	Mr. DeSantis?
875	[No response.]
876	Mr. Buck?
877	[No response.]
878	Mr. Ratcliffe?
879	Mr. Ratcliffe. No.
880	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no.
881	Ms. Roby?
882	[No response.]
883	Mr. Gaetz?
884	[No response.]
885	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
886	[No response.]
887	Mr. Biggs?
888	Mr. Biggs. No.
889	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Biggs votes no.
890	Mr. Rutherford?
891	Mr. Rutherford. No.
892	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes no.
893	Ms. Handel?
894	Ms. Handel. No.
895	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Handel votes no.

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896	Mr. Conyers?
897	Mr. Conyers. Aye.
898	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Conyers votes aye.
899	Mr. Nadler?
900	Mr. Nadler. Aye.
901	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
902	Ms. Lofgren?
903	[No response.]
904	Ms. Jackson Lee?
905	[No response.]
906	Mr. Cohen?
907	Mr. Cohen. Aye.
908	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cohen votes aye.
909	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
910	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Aye.
911	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
912	Mr. Deutch?
913	[No response.]
914	Mr. Gutierrez?
915	[No response.]
916	Ms. Bass?
917	Ms. Bass. Aye.
918	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Bass votes aye.
919	Mr. Richmond?
920	[No response.]

921	Mr. Jeffries?
922	[No response.]
923	Mr. Cicilline?
924	Mr. Cicilline. Aye.
925	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cicilline votes aye.
926	Mr. Swalwell?
927	[No response.]
928	Mr. Lieu?
929	[No response.]
930	Mr. Raskin?
931	Mr. Raskin. Aye.
932	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Raskin votes aye.
933	Ms. Jayapal?
934	Ms. Jayapal. Aye.
935	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jayapal votes aye.
936	Mr. Schneider?
937	Mr. Schneider. Aye.
938	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes aye.
939	Mr. Chabot. The gentleman from Virginia?
940	Chairman Goodlatte. No.
941	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
942	Mr. Chabot. The gentleman from Texas?
943	Mr. Smith. No.
944	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Smith votes no.
945	Mr. Chabot. The gentleman from Texas?

946	Mr. Farenthold. No.
947	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Farenthold votes no.
948	Mr. Chabot. The gentleman from Florida?
949	Mr. Gaetz. No.
950	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no.
951	Mr. Chabot. If there are no further members, the clerk
952	will report. The gentleman from California?
953	Mr. Issa. No.
954	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Issa votes no. Mr. Chairman, 9
955	members voted aye; 19 members voted no.
956	Mr. Chabot. And the amendment is not agreed to. Are
957	there further amendments?
958	Mr. Conyers. Mr. Chairman, may I ask permission to put
959	the letters for the record on this measure?
960	Mr. Chabot. Without objection, so ordered. The
961	letters will be in the record.
962	Mr. Conyers. Thank you.
963	[The information follows:]
964	****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Mr. Chabot. The gentleman from Tennessee?
Mr. Cohen. I have an amendment at the desk.
Mr. Chabot. The clerk will report the amendment.
Ms. Adcock. Amendment to H.R. 620, offered by Mr.
Cohen of Tennessee. Page four, lines six and seven, strike
"or to make substantial progress in removing the barrier."
Page 4, line 21, strike the
[The amendment of Mr. Cohen follows:]
******* COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Mr. Chabot. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read. The gentleman is recognized for the purpose of his amendment for 5 minutes.

Mr. Cohen. Thank you, Mr. Chair. And I am not wedded to this language. I expressed in my opening statement, I expressed to Mr. Poe when I expressed when we discussed this -- I think it was maybe 2 years ago. It has been a while this bill has been around.

But in cases where a business owner has been given the full 180-day period under this bill, H.R. 620, to respond to a notice of an alleged ADA violation and to cure such violation, and where that party has failed to do so in that timeframe, this amendment would allow a plaintiff in a subsequent lawsuit to recover liquidated damages amounting to \$1,000 a day for every day the owner has failed to cure the violation. That \$1,000 is intended to make sure they fix, or attempt, at least, to fix the defect, that they cure. And if you do not have that \$1,000 a day, there is not a hammer. You need a hammer.

During the hearing before the Subcommittee on the Constitution and Civil Justice on this legislation in the 114th Congress, all the witnesses appeared to agree that Congress' ultimate goal should be to promote businesses' compliance with the ADA. At that time, I noted that abuses can happen in any situation, and that nuisance litigation

may be a problem including those of demand letters to harass and intimidate small business owners.

At the same time, I took seriously the concerns raised by some that bills like H.R. 620 might be used by ill-intentioned business owners solely as a way of dragging out litigation. Such tactics are intended to simply make litigation potentially cost-prohibitive for plaintiffs and dissuade those with meritorious claims from even pursuing suits.

Looking for a way to address the concerns expressed by both sides in light of what appeared to be a common agreement that we should encourage voluntary compliance with the ADA, this amendment is designed to address the very real concern about business owners who act in bad faith in refusing compliance even after being given up to 6 months to do so, while not harming in any way business owners who act expeditiously and in good faith to comply with the law.

We should protect the good guys and use a hammer to punish the bad guys. Because the bad guys are impeding people with disabilities from having equal access, which is the goal of the ADA.

My amendment is designed to narrowly target only those true bad actors while leaving untouched the bill's generous notice and cure provisions for those businesses that cure violations once they have been given notice. The amendment

also ensures that violations are in fact cured within the bill's 120-day cure period by striking the language allowing a business to avoid liability simply by demonstrating substantial progress, as that provision appears to leave too much wiggle room to avoid compliance.

But as I said, I am not wedded to taking out the substantial progress. If we want to have that in and define it, that would be fine too, but give the court the hammer to punish the bad actors that do not make substantial progress.

I am sincere in my hope that we can all agree that purely bad actors should face some sort of penalty for abusing H.R. 620's provisions simply to avoid compliance with the law. Right now, there is nothing to make them act without going through court later on and having some dilatory time.

I want to make it clear that I am not wedded to the particulars of the amendment which I have, and it could be different damages or some other provision. But the stick is necessary and should be more than simply the filing of a lawsuit, something an aggrieved person is already entitled to do currently without having to wait for a notice and cure period to expire.

If you object to the details of the amendment, but agree with the intent, which I hope you would. And as the lady from Georgia said, she wants to strengthen the ADA,

this would strengthen the ADA. By not giving the court some hammer, some penalty, you do not strengthen the ADA. You weaken it. And I would welcome suggestions how to have a stick. We had it before. I would ask people to work with me.

With that in mind, I urge the committee to adopt the amendment or to amend the amendment to see to it that bad actors are punished, good guys are not, and that we have a better bill. With that, I yield back.

Mr. Chabot. The gentleman yields back. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Poe. I thank the gentleman. As Mr. Cohen has said, we have talked about this for a long time. And all due respect, I oppose the gentleman's amendment.

Substantial progress; that is a determination that is made

by the court. The court will decide if a person has made substantial progress, or a business has made substantial progress, in compliance with ADA.

As the gentleman knows, my congressional district in southeast Texas was hammered by Hurricane Harvey.

Businesses are trying to come back online; some of them may not be getting complete compliance with ADA as they rebuild their businesses. I can see that as an issue. Whether they are substantially compliant or not is not a determination for us. That is a determination for the court, if it gets

1074 to the court.

As the gentlelady from Georgia has mentioned, the whole purpose of the ADA is to keep these types of situations out of court and resolve the problem of a business not complying with the ADA. The law allows for attorneys' fees and that is where all the money is going anyway, to attorneys, if it gets that far. So, substantial compliance; that is the responsibility of the finder of fact. That is the judge. And I think that we should leave that as a judicial issue.

And as the gentleman knows, if businesses are not going to comply there is an administrative penalty that can be imposed by the Federal Government administratively of civil fees of up to, I think, \$200,000 or \$250,000 on a business. So, there is a punishment for the bad guys if they continue to be the bad guys.

Personally, I think most businesses want to comply with the ADA for purely economic reasons. Those that do not, there is a remedy. We need to keep out the bad actors, the attorneys who file these drive-by lawsuit letters to businesses who do not have the money to even go to court.

So, I oppose the gentleman's --

Mr. Cohen. Would the gentleman yield?

1096 Mr. Poe. Yeah, I will yield to the gentleman from 1097 Tennessee.

Mr. Cohen. Thank you, sir. This is about the notice

and cure provision. It is not about the ADA, per se, this amendment, and we do not need to keep the substantial compliance. I would say if they fail to comply, or if they fail to make substantial compliance, the court can decide. Then, in that 120-day period, the court should have a lever. And it is the court; it is not some Federal, you know, entity out there that is going to enforce this law. And you could even give the monies to an eleemosynary group that works with people with disabilities, and so it is not going to attorneys.

But do you not agree that it would be helpful to have a stick to make people do something in good faith during the 120-day period and not just take that time to sit back and continue life?

Mr. Poe. Reclaiming my time, I understand the gentleman's position. The court has the ability, if a business fails to comply, under current law of adjunctive relief, and failure to abide by injunction can be imposed with contempt by the court. So, there is a remedy for the court to punish bad businesses if it ever gets that far. And as I pointed earlier, some States that have the fine, like California, that is the State probably with most of these drive-by lawsuits. So, I oppose the gentleman's amendment and I yield back my time.

Mr. Chabot. The gentleman yields back. Does any other

1124	member seek recognition? Seeing no other member seeking
1125	recognition, the question is on the amendment offered by the
1126	gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Cohen.
1127	All those in favor, say aye.
1128	Those oppose, say no.
1129	In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
1130	The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.
1131	The gentleman asked for a recorded vote. The clerk
1132	will call the roll.
1133	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
1134	[No response.]
1135	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
1136	[No response.]
1137	Mr. Smith?
1138	[No response.]
1139	Mr. Chabot?
1140	Mr. Chabot. No.
1141	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes no.
1142	Mr. Issa?
1143	[No response.]
1144	Mr. King?
1145	Mr. King. No.
1146	Ms. Adcock. Mr. King votes no.
1147	Mr. Franks?
1148	Mr. Franks. No.

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1149	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes no.
1150	Mr. Gohmert?
1151	Mr. Gohmert. No.
1152	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes no.
1153	Mr. Jordan?
1154	[No response.]
1155	Mr. Poe?
1156	Mr. Poe. No.
1157	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes no.
1158	Mr. Marino?
1159	Mr. Marino. No.
1160	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes no.
1161	Mr. Gowdy?
1162	Mr. Gowdy. No.
1163	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes no.
1164	Mr. Labrador?
1165	Mr. Labrador. No.
1166	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes no.
1167	Mr. Farenthold?
1168	[No response.]
1169	Mr. Collins?
1170	Mr. Collins. No.
1171	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no.
1172	Mr. DeSantis?
1173	[No response.]

1174	Mr. Buck?
1175	Mr. Buck. No.
1176	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no.
1177	Mr. Ratcliffe?
1178	[No response.]
1179	Mrs. Roby?
1180	[No response.]
1181	Mr. Gaetz?
1182	[No response.]
1183	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
1184	[No response.]
1185	Mr. Biggs?
1186	[No response.]
1187	Mr. Rutherford?
1188	Mr. Rutherford: No.
1189	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes no.
1190	Mrs. Handel?
1191	Mrs. Handel. No.
1192	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes no.
1193	Mr. Conyers?
1194	[No response.]
1195	Mr. Nadler?
1196	Mr. Nadler. Aye.
1197	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
1198	Ms. Lofgren?

1100	
1199	[No response.]
1200	Ms. Jackson Lee?
1201	[No response.]
1202	Mr. Cohen?
1203	Mr. Cohen. Aye.
1204	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cohen votes aye.
1205	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
1206	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Aye.
1207	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
1208	Mr. Deutch?
1209	[No response.]
1210	Mr. Gutierrez?
1211	[No response.]
1212	Ms. Bass?
1213	Ms. Bass. Aye.
1214	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Bass votes aye.
1215	Mr. Richmond?
1216	[No response.]
1217	Mr. Jeffries?
1218	[No response.]
1219	Mr. Cicilline?
1220	Mr. Cicilline. Aye.
1221	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cicilline votes aye.
1222	Mr. Swalwell?
1223	[No response.]

1224	Mr. Lieu?
1225	[No response.]
1226	Mr. Raskin?
1227	Mr. Raskin. Aye.
1228	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Raskin votes aye.
1229	Ms. Jayapal?
1230	Ms. Jayapal. Aye.
1231	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jayapal votes aye.
1232	Mr. Schneider?
1233	Mr. Schneider. Aye.
1234	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes aye.
1235	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Michigan?
1236	Mr. Conyers. Aye vote.
1237	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Conyers votes aye.
1238	Chairman Goodlatte. The chair votes no.
1239	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
1240	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Texas?
1241	Mr. Ratcliffe. No.
1242	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no.
1243	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Florida?
1244	Mr. DeSantis. No.
1245	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Ohio?
1246	Mr. Jordan. No.
1247	Chairman Goodlatte. Has every member voted who wishes
1248	to vote? The clerk will report. The clerk will suspend.

1249	The gentleman from Arizona?
1250	Mr. Biggs. No.
1251	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Biggs votes no.
1252	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
1253	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 9 members voted aye; 17
1254	members voted no.
1255	Chairman Goodlatte. And the amendment is not agreed
1256	to. Are there further amendments to H.R. 620?
1257	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman?
1258	Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the
1259	gentleman from Rhode Island seek recognition?
1260	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at
1261	the desk.
1262	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report the
1263	amendment.
1264	Ms. Adcock. Amendment to H.R. 620, offered by Mr.
1265	Cicilline. Page 2, strike lines 14 through 17 and insert
1266	the following: "Section "
1267	[The amendment of Mr. Cicilline follows:]
1268	****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment is considered as read and the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. Cicilline. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My amendment would add a provision to H.R. 620 specifying that the modifications to the Americans with Disabilities Act made by this bill would only apply to businesses with five or fewer employees.

For 27 years, the Americans with Disabilities Act has worked well and provided consistent and strong standards to ensure the presence of public accommodations for disabled persons. H.R. 620 would very unwisely amend the ADA to shift the burden of ensuring that businesses are ADA-compliant onto the shoulders of disabled persons. The notice and cure provisions in this bill would effectively remove the requirement that businesses proactively know and comply with Title III of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

In addition to giving businesses time to respond to a notice of noncompliance, H.R. 620 also imposes a lengthy waiting period in which a plaintiff must allow a business the opportunity to remedy violations. This waiting period would allow businesses to continue to exclude people with disabilities for months before the plaintiff is allowed to seek legal enforcement of Title III. Legislation meant to

increase compliance with the ADA should not create more of the discrimination that disabled persons already experience every day, including a lack of accessibility and exclusion and isolation from public places.

This legislation has been presented as a means of giving businesses more time to achieve compliance with the ADA because it may be onerous or difficult, particularly for smaller businesses, to understand their obligations under Title III.

Small businesses form the backbone of the American economy and it is vital that Congress does all that it can to support them. And while I understand the importance of making sure that these businesses have the assistance and resources they need to thrive and survive, it is nonetheless the obligation of small businesses to comply with the ADA. The Federal Government also has provided extensive outreach efforts and free technical assistance resources to help businesses comply with the ADA.

Among other things, since 1991 the Federal Government has funded 10 regional ADA centers to provide ADA training, technical assistance, and ADA-related materials to entities with responsibilities under the ADA. That is why by limiting this legislation to businesses with five or fewer employees, my amendment would target businesses that are most likely to have minimal resources and access to

education about their legal obligations under the ADA.

To the extent that any business lacks the information they need to comply with Title III of the ADA, efforts to address that problem should focus on making information more available rather than preventing people with disabilities from effectively exercising their rights under the ADA. For example, Congress could fund a grants program for outreach specialists that focus on helping small businesses meet the ADA compliance standards.

So, you know, some of the suggestions that my colleagues made earlier about the ADA, and everyone wants to comply: we should remember the history that led our country to adopt the Americans with Disabilities Act. Pervasive discrimination for individuals with disabilities in this country, and despite the fact that we wished it were not the case and we hoped people would understand the moral imperative of responding, the fact was it just was not happening, and that is why Congress passed the ADA to force compliance so that individuals with disabilities would no longer face discrimination in important access to areas of public life such as jobs, schools, transportation, and public places.

So, this sort of nostalgic view of "if we just wish it to happen, it will happen," we know history has taught us that is not the case. When we needed the ADA, it has worked

1344 well; it has worked effectively. This underlying bill, I 1345 think, really undermines that, but I hope that my amendment at least can mitigate or reduce the potential damage of this 1346 1347 proposal, and I urge my colleagues --1348 Mr. Conyers. Would the gentleman yield? 1349 Mr. Cicilline. I would be honored to yield to Mr. 1350 Conyers. 1351 Mr. Conyers. The gentleman from Rhode Island has a 1352 good amendment here that makes something that we do not like 1353 about this bill -- at least appropriately limit the bill's 1354 scope to benefit only the businesses that might have a 1355 credible claim to lacking resources, and I thank the 1356 gentleman for his amendment. I will support it. 1357 Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman. 1358 For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas seek 1359 recognition? 1360 Mr. Poe. I move to strike the last word. 1361 Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5 1362 minutes. 1363 Mr. Poe. Mr. Chairman, the legislation that we have 1364 proposed today applies to everybody and I think setting an 1365 arbitrary number, based upon I do not know what evidence, 1366 but just picking a number out of the sky and applying it to 1367 just certain businesses is inappropriate. It ought to apply 1368 to all situations, any business.

I do want to mention that the legislation does do something to promote more access to the ADA by setting up a mediation process to see if mediation is a good way to resolve some of these disputes. That is the last section of the legislation, to allow people to have mediation to resolve disputes as to whether or not a business is in compliance or not in compliance, and let the two sides get together long before there is ever a lawsuit filed.

It does not require mediation; it just requires a process to study mediation as an answer, getting all parties involved in that. So, I do want to point that out in the legislation, that it does move that communication between the two sides down the road.

I thank the gentleman for his amendment, but I do think it ought to apply to everybody. And I yield back.

Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the gentleman from Georgia seek recognition?

Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I move to strike the last word.

Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I rise in support of the very reasonable Cicilline amendment which would in some ways help small business people, very small business people, to be able to bring their properties into compliance with the ADA,

while offering no protection to the real winners under this legislation, which are the large businesses that pay the large law firm lawyers \$500 an hour to defend their cases.

And this legislation will give those defense lawyers, those high-priced defense lawyers, a lot more ammunition to be able to defeat a just plaintiff's claim for technical reasons by not fully complying with the notice and cure provisions in terms of the specificity required in terms of identifying the alleged defect.

And so, this opens up a lot of opportunity for these high-powered defense lawyers to protect their high-powered, very successful large businesses to evade compliance with the provisions of the ADA.

Something that I am very worried about also is that this Congress has basically on the Senate side done a lot to put free-market-thinking judges on the Federal bench, people who are more attuned to corporate needs than the needs of people.

And so, what section 5 of this bill would do would be to set up a model program to bring alternative dispute resolution processes into the ADA compliance mechanism. It would require the judicial conference -- the judges -- to put together a model program. And this section 5 talks about mediation a couple of times, but really, what they intend for the judicial conference to come up with is a

vehicle to force plaintiffs, ADA plaintiffs, into arbitration. That is what they really want to do. And so, this section 5 is a precursor; it is kind of like driving in a Trojan horse into the process, requiring the judges to come up with something with some alternative dispute mechanism, resolution mechanism.

And we talk about mediation, but you and I know, and the American people know, that arbitration is what they are trying to get into this mix here. And while they are doing that, they are also curtailing the ability to conduct discovery by plaintiffs. And they really want to curtail discovery; they want to create more delay for plaintiffs, which adds to plaintiffs' expenses.

Disabled people do not have \$500 an hour to be paying an attorney and attorneys do not make that kind of money representing aggrieved plaintiffs. But they will be put to more expense in terms of representing these aggrieved plaintiffs due to section 5 of this legislation.

And also, should the legislation pass, the technical requirements of the notice that has to be given to property owners that provides these defense lawyers with grounds to be able to defeat a plaintiff's claims in the ends.

So, it all boils down to protecting the rich and powerful at the expense of the little guy. That is what the people of this country are so angry about, because they are

1444 not getting a good deal, and we need a better deal to help 1445 people across the board, the little people of this country. 1446 And with that, I yield back. 1447 Mr. Collins. Mr. Chairman? 1448 Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the 1449 gentleman from Georgia seek recognition? 1450 Mr. Collins. I move to strike the last word. 1451 Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5 1452 minutes. 1453 Mr. Collins. You know, Mr. Chairman, we have been 1454 through this a lot, and Mr. Cohen especially. We have 1455 talked about it, and there are a lot of things here that 1456 need to be addressed. And it is just amazing to me, 1457 especially over the last little bit and especially in the 1458 last few minutes, looking at this issue of substantial 1459 progress, getting stuff done, at the end of the day, this is 1460 about fixing a problem, if one exists, with a business and making sure that that business fixes the problem. 1461 1462 It is not about lawsuits. It seems to be that is what 1463 this is becoming, is about "can we file a lawsuit? Can we 1464 get into discovery?" You either have an ADA issue, you do 1465 not have an ADA issue. I am not sure why you are going on a 1466 fishing trip on a discovery issue here. You have either got 1467 a problem or you do not have a problem. It is pretty set 1468 forth in this.

I think the interesting thing here is, even for my friend from Georgia -- and we can disagree on this, about the usefulness and not -- but I mean, even just a few moments ago, he made the statement that many times, if they get a letter, they will either pay the letter or they will sell the business; they will never fix the problem.

So in the end of the day, there is a clear choice becoming here. As you continue to protect the legal system, you can protect the plaintiff wanting to sue and do that, or fix the problem.

Now, when it comes to little people and big people, and big business and small business, and those who are hurting and those who are not hurting, at the end of the day, as I have said from this platform before, this is very -- this is not about a plaintiff to me. This is about my daughter.

And when you understand what folks go through, and my daughter, who has been in a wheelchair all her life, and we deal with these issues all the time. I said this last time that we were going through this event.

Also, if you have bad business actors, and they will not fit a profile or they will not fix things, then the best thing for them to do is go out of business. If they do not want to serve a part of their community, that is going to get around. It is going to be understood. There needs to be access and ADA has been a wonderful tool to do that. But

it is not a wonderful tool to abuse. It is not a wonderful tool for what reports I have heard -- I know Mr. Poe has heard -- where you drive around, you take a picture of a shopping center, and you send a demand letter to a business. My daughter and every disabled person is not a business model.

I am tired of us going to this process and claiming some great court solution when we are just simply saying, "Let's get it fixed." I do not disagree with my friend from Memphis, Mr. Cohen. There needs to be some hammer in there. I am not sure how we get there. We have struggled with that, and he and I honestly have struggled with that. But let's do not get into this "we are protecting rights remediation."

At the end of the day, I do not care if it is mediation, somebody sending a letter, or somebody picketing out front of a business that is not ADA-compliant. Get it fixed. And if you do not want to get it fixed, sell the business; let somebody else get it fixed. But let's do not bring in the wealthy defense attorneys or the wealthy plaintiff attorneys. Let's get back to who this is about: the ADA, the helping those with disabilities, helping those access a business. Let's quit where we are headed here.

We can parse this all we want, but at the end of the day, it is not about who wins a lawsuit, who loses a

lawsuit. It is about "can we have access for those who need the access?" So, you can describe it any way you want to. You can say that we need more plaintiffs to be able to do this, we do not want to protect the wealthy defense and big business.

By the way, most big businesses, if they are successful, get there because they actually cater to the communities. They are not going to turn away business. And the disabled community is a wonderful, vibrant community that buys things, purchases things, goes to see things, and is participating in their community. Why would a big wealthy business say, "Oh, I am not going to help those who are disabled?" That is crazy.

I just sat here all I could sit here. This bill has always showed; I appreciate Mr. Poe for bringing it. I understand the concerns of those business owners who do not do it, and those people who have a business who will not allow accessibility to those with disabilities, they need to have a job that goes out. But to simply come into here and make the arguments for the lawyers in the room on both sides is very frustrating.

It is about fixing it. Fix a ramp, fix a door, fix the access, fix the bathrooms. Does not matter at the end of the day. But we can parse this to death. We can find liquidate damage. We can protect here, protect small

1544 business. It ought to apply to everybody. And at the end 1545 of the day, frivolous lawsuits, yes, I agree, there are 1546 supposedly penalties and stuff. Most of these are never 1547 getting to trial. They are just being put out there for 1548 somebody to pay or go forward, and it is the cost of doing 1549 business. 1550 Again, I just say to every person who is disabled, 1551 every person who has to deal with this, and especially in my 1552 family, my business there is access and opportunity for 1553 everyone of disability. And my daughter and anybody else 1554 who has disabilities that need the ADA's protection is not a 1555 business model. And with that, I yield back. 1556 Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman. 1557 The question occurs on the amendment offered by the 1558 gentleman from Rhode Island. For what purpose does the 1559 gentlewoman from California seek recognition? 1560 Ms. Bass. Mr. Chair, I would like to strike the last 1561 word. 1562 Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman is recognized for 1563 5 minutes. 1564 Ms. Bass. I would like to yield to my colleague, Mr. 1565 Hank Johnson. 1566 Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I thank the gentlelady. Gosh, 1567 I appreciate the passion that this hearing has evoked, but 1568 all I can think about are the cries, the silent cries, of

the disabled who, not knowing that they have a right to equal access to public accommodations, ride by someplace; they drive by and they look out of the windshield and they see that there is no ADA compliance.

As they drive, they see that "I will never be able to get to that shop because there is no ramp." They will see defects that we cannot see. Well, we can see them, but we are just not sensitive to what they see and what they need. And because we are not sensitive, we just ride by and we do not see it, but they see it. It denies them access and they have to suck it up and just move on.

Mr. Collins. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Not as of yet. They have to suck it up and move on. So many have to cry tears silently because they are being treated unequally and no one ever knows because they never go to an attorney to seek help. And so, it is the passion of those people whose voices resonate in my ear today with this debate. And with that, I will yield back to the gentlelady who controls the time.

Mr. Cicilline. Will the gentlelady yield?

Ms. Bass. Yes, I yield to Representative Cicilline.

Mr. Cicilline. I thank the gentlelady for yielding. I just think it is really important to recall the history of the experiences of the disability community. We have a system of civil justice in this country that works on the

premise that once we establish a principle, that you cannot discriminate based on race or gender or disability, that it does not automatically change the conduct and behavior of the entire country overnight. And that we have a system of laws that provide for enforcement to compel some people who otherwise will not comply with the law. That is the way our system works.

It would be wonderful if we simply passed the ADA and every single business and every single entity covered by it voluntarily complied. In fact, it would be better if everyone recognized the moral imperative of doing that before we passed the ADA. That is not the way the world works. There are some businesses that quickly did it; there were some businesses that did before the ADA became law.

But the reality is we have to have a system, a structure, in place to compel compliance, to make it costly not to comply with what we have established as an absolute right to be free from discrimination based on your disability in this country. We should be proud of that. We should demand compliance with it and we should make sure that this system provides for penalties, effective enforcement, so that we vindicate the principle we have established under the ADA.

And so, the notion of just wanting everyone to fix it, of course, we do. The question is, how do we do that

effectively? We pass laws and then we pass provisions that make sure those laws are effectively implemented. We can disagree about kind of which way, you know, what those implementation structures should be like, but the notion that we do not have to have a legal process and a system in place to compel compliance when we know there are businesses all across America that, despite the ADA being enacted 27 years ago, still are not in compliance. That is a fact.

And so, I would just urge my colleagues to recognize

And so, I would just urge my colleagues to recognize that this amendment is intended to at least respond to the concern that has been raised about small business, and not to give this huge what I consider a loophole now to the ADA that the bill provides, to at least limits the damage it will impose to very small businesses. And with that, I thank the gentlelady for yielding and yield back.

Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas seek recognition?

Mr. Ratcliffe. I move to strike the last word.

1637 Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Ratcliffe. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins.

Mr. Collins. I thank the gentleman from Texas. Look, understand something. Again, I think the last just few minutes just went back to proving what I have been saying.

We did not go back to the understanding of "fix it." Nobody is attacking the ADA. No one is taking away the ADA. No one is saying the ADA does not exist. No one is saying there are not enforcement mechanisms there. No one in this place is.

We are simply dealing with an issue in which people are abusing the system that was put in place. I mean, effective implementation is what we are asking for. I agree with the gentleman from Rhode Island. But it is effective implementation; it is not drive-by lawsuits. It is not drive-by, you know, making something happen to people.

The other issue here, and this one is -- I do not quite get this one and I understand -- the silent voice. The disabled community is one of the most effective advocates and have become over the years through the ADA and other processes of advocating for what they need. And believe me, from my community and my daughter and her friends and all, if they see a place that is not compliant, they are going to say something about it.

I am just going to say I do not think this was the gentleman's intention, but to imply that the disabled are just going to cower in the corner because they are disabled, disabilities would not let them go to a business, and sit silently in pity and remorse that they cannot go participate? They do not know the disabled community. The

1669	disabled community will bypass you and hope your business
1670	goes out of business, and they will go to somebody who does.
1671	It is not the silent voice here. This is the effective
1672	implementation.
1673	Again, we have sidetracked on trying to fix a problem
1674	into discussion of legal tactics. That is the problem that
1675	I have with this. And Mr. Chairman and the gentleman, I
1676	yield back to the gentleman.
1677	Mr. Ratcliffe. I yield back.
1678	Chairman Goodlatte. The question occurs on the
1679	amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island.
1680	All those in favor, respond by saying aye.
1681	Those opposed, no.
1682	In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
1683	The amendment is not agreed to.
1684	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a recorded
1685	vote.
1686	Chairman Goodlatte. A recorded vote is requested and
1687	the clerk will call the roll.
1688	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
1689	Chairman Goodlatte. No.
1690	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
1691	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
1692	[No response.]
1693	Mr. Smith?

1694	[No response.]
1695	Mr. Chabot?
1696	Mr. Chabot. No.
1697	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes no.
1698	Mr. Issa?
1699	[No response.]
1700	Mr. King?
1701	Mr. King. No.
1702	Ms. Adcock. Mr. King votes no.
1703	Mr. Franks?
1704	[No response.]
1705	Mr. Gohmert?
1706	Mr. Gohmert. No.
1707	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes no.
1708	Mr. Jordan?
1709	[No response.]
1710	Mr. Poe?
1711	Mr. Poe. No.
1712	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes no.
1713	Mr. Marino?
1714	Mr. Marino. No.
1715	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes no.
1716	Mr. Gowdy?
1717	Mr. Gowdy. No.
1718	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes no.

1719 Mr. Labrador? 1720 Mr. Labrador. No. 1721 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes no. 1722 Mr. Farenthold? 1723 [No response.] 1724 Mr. Collins? 1725 Mr. Collins. No. 1726 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. 1727 Mr. DeSantis? 1728 [No response.] 1729 Mr. Buck? 1730 Mr. Buck. No. 1731 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. 1732 Mr. Ratcliffe? 1733 Mr. Ratcliffe. No. 1734 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. 1735 Mrs. Roby? 1736 [No response.] 1737 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs? 1743 [No response.]		
Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes no. Mr. Farenthold? (No response.) Mr. Collins? Mr. Collins. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. Mr. DeSantis? (No response.) Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? (No response.) Mrs. Roby? Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? (No response.) Mr. Biggs?	1719	Mr. Labrador?
1722 Mr. Farenthold? 1723 [No response.] 1724 Mr. Collins? 1725 Mr. Collins. No. 1726 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. 1727 Mr. DeSantis? 1728 [No response.] 1729 Mr. Buck? 1730 Mr. Buck. No. 1731 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. 1732 Mr. Ratcliffe? 1733 Mr. Ratcliffe. No. 1734 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. 1735 Mrs. Roby? 1736 [No response.] 1737 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1720	Mr. Labrador. No.
1723	1721	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes no.
Mr. Collins? Mr. Collins. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. Mr. DeSantis? [No response.] Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1722	Mr. Farenthold?
Mr. Collins. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. Mr. DeSantis? [No response.] Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1723	[No response.]
Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no. Mr. DeSantis? [No response.] Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Buck. Mr. Buck votes no. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1724	Mr. Collins?
1727 Mr. DeSantis? 1728 [No response.] 1729 Mr. Buck? 1730 Mr. Buck. No. 1731 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. 1732 Mr. Ratcliffe? 1733 Mr. Ratcliffe. No. 1734 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. 1735 Mrs. Roby? 1736 [No response.] 1737 Mr. Gaetz? 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1725	Mr. Collins. No.
1728	1726	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes no.
Mr. Buck? Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Buck. No. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1727	Mr. DeSantis?
Mr. Buck. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? Mrs. Roby? Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Biggs?	1728	[No response.]
Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no. Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1729	Mr. Buck?
Mr. Ratcliffe? Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? I736 [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? I741 [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1730	Mr. Buck. No.
Mr. Ratcliffe. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1731	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes no.
Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no. Mrs. Roby? [No response.] Mr. Gaetz? Mr. Gaetz. No. Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? [No response.] Mr. Biggs?	1732	Mr. Ratcliffe?
1735 Mrs. Roby? 1736 [No response.] 1737 Mr. Gaetz? 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1733	Mr. Ratcliffe. No.
1736 [No response.] 1737 Mr. Gaetz? 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1734	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes no.
1737 Mr. Gaetz? 1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1735	Mrs. Roby?
1738 Mr. Gaetz. No. 1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1736	[No response.]
1739 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no. 1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1737	Mr. Gaetz?
1740 Mr. Johnson of Louisiana? 1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1738	Mr. Gaetz. No.
1741 [No response.] 1742 Mr. Biggs?	1739	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes no.
1742 Mr. Biggs?	1740	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
	1741	[No response.]
1743 [No response.]	1742	Mr. Biggs?
	1743	[No response.]

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1744	Mr. Rutherford?
1745	Mr. Rutherford. No.
1746	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes no.
1747	Mrs. Handel?
1748	Mrs. Handel. No.
1749	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes no.
1750	Mr. Conyers?
1751	Mr. Conyers. Aye.
1752	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Conyers votes aye.
1753	Mr. Nadler?
1754	[No response.]
1755	Ms. Lofgren?
1756	[No response.]
1757	Ms. Jackson Lee?
1758	[No response.]
1759	Mr. Cohen?
1760	[No response.]
1761	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
1762	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Aye.
1763	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
1764	Mr. Deutch?
1765	[No response.]
1766	Mr. Gutierrez?
1767	[No response.]
1768	Ms. Bass?

1769	Ms. Bass. Aye.
1770	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Bass votes aye.
1771	Mr. Richmond?
1772	[No response.]
1773	Mr. Jeffries?
1774	[No response.]
1775	Mr. Cicilline?
1776	Mr. Cicilline. Aye.
1777	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cicilline votes aye.
1778	Mr. Swalwell?
1779	Mr. Swalwell. Aye.
1780	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Swalwell votes aye.
1781	Mr. Lieu?
1782	[No response.]
1783	Mr. Raskin?
1784	Mr. Raskin. Aye.
1785	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Raskin votes aye.
1786	Ms. Jayapal?
1787	Ms. Jayapal. Aye.
1788	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jayapal votes aye.
1789	Mr. Schneider?
1790	Mr. Schneider. Aye.
1791	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes aye.
1792	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Ohio?
1793	Mr. Jordan. No.

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1794		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Jordan votes no.
1795		Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Arizona?
1796		Mr. Biggs. No.
1797		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Biggs votes no.
1798		Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Texas.
1799		Mr. Farenthold. No.
1800		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Farenthold votes no.
1801		Chairman Goodlatte. Has every member voted who wishes
1802	to v	ote?
1803		Mr. Franks. How am I recorded?
1804		Ms. Adcock. Not recorded.
1805		Mr. Franks. No.
1806		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes no.
1807		Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report. The clerk
1808	will	suspend. The gentleman from Louisiana?
1809		Mr. Johnson of Louisiana. No.
1810		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes no.
1811		Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
1812		Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 8 members voted aye; 19
1813	memb	ers voted no.
1814		Chairman Goodlatte. And the amendment is not agreed
1815	to.	The committee will stand in recess for lunch until
1816	1:15	•
1817		[Recess.]
1818		Chairman Goodlatte. The committee will reconvene.

1819	When the committee recessed for votes, we were considering
1820	amendments to H.R. 620. Are there further amendments to
1821	H.R. 620?
1822	Mr. Swalwell. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
1823	desk.
1824	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report the
1825	amendment.
1826	Mr. Swalwell. And I ask unanimous consent to dispense
1827	with the reading.
1828	Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment's
1829	reading will be dispensed with. And the clerk will
1830	distribute the amendment.
1831	Mr. Swalwell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In my
1832	amendment
1833	Chairman Goodlatte. Well, we wait until we get this
1834	out and then we will all right. The gentleman from
1835	California is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.
1836	Mr. Swalwell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Appreciate you
1837	holding this hearing and I appreciate both sides and
1838	perspectives, including Mr. Collins. And he and I, I think,
1839	both want to be problem solvers in this area.
1840	My amendment would provide a better way of dealing with
1841	certain problematic ADA lawsuits than H.R. 620. Before I
1842	discuss my amendment though, Mr. Chairman, I do want to say
1843	I, with my colleagues, strongly object to the President's

cruel decision to terminate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. I believe this is the committee where we could most effectively address that immediately and provide a pathway for these people who are part of us and a part of our country.

Taking them out of our country is like taking a color out of our flag, and I believe we must do all we can to keep them here. The Judiciary Committee has the jurisdiction on immigration, and again, I hope that is taken up soon, Mr. Chairman.

But with respect to H.R. 620, it alters a critical civil rights law, the Americans with Disabilities Act, enacted over 25 years ago; the ADA has fundamentally changed for the better our Nation. It has helped bring down barriers which previously have kept the disabled locked out of our society. Any modifications made to it should be done with great care.

However like any law, bad actors have decided to abuse the principles of the ADA. Some businesses, I understand, as a former city council member and now in this position, have been targeted by nefarious actors who have sued hundreds of businesses for what they consider minor violations in order to extract legal settlements or otherwise get monetary awards.

For example, one Californian was sanctioned by a

Federal district court for, among other findings, it found that it was not credible that he had actually experienced, essentially, the same injury at 13 separate places as he alleged in 13 separate lawsuits he filed over a 5-day period. I understand the desire to dissuade people from filing civil actions like this one.

Unfortunately, the so-called notice and cure aspect is overbroad. It targets not just the allegedly abusive cases but would force all disabled Americans to wait 6 months, perhaps even longer for access to public accommodations. It flips the ADA on its head. Putting the burden on the disabled to make businesses accessible and as opposed to the burden being on the businesses themselves.

It is also important to note that locations in which these allegedly improper lawsuits are being filed are in States which through State law allow monetary damages for violations of the Federal ADA. The Federal ADA does not provide for monetary damages. And so even if H.R. 620 were enacted, this financial incentive would not change.

My amendment is an attempt, Mr. Chairman, at a compromise. It seeks to target the small number of bad actors while preserving the heart of the ADA and not making it more difficult for the vast majority of ADA claims. My amendment strikes the notice and cure provision and provides an alternative way to dismiss problematic ADA claims.

A plaintiff's attorney who has filed 5 or more architectural barrier cases in the prior 30 days would have to so state on their complaints so defendants would be on notice of frequent lawsuits. In such cases defendants will have a unique way to ask courts to dismiss the case.

If the plaintiff or the attorney filing is a nuisance or making duplicative claims or there is no evidence of an expectation of prevailing in the case and the defendant had no notice that they were in violation of ADA.

We did attempt to negotiate a compromise to solve the concerns of the proponents of H.R. 620. Unfortunately, we were not able to reach a resolution prior to today but I still have hope, Mr. Chairman, that just as Mr. Collins is interested in being a problem solver on this, that other colleagues would seek to work with me on this as well.

I hope today members will take a fresh look and that we can find common ground. I doubt that for every problem there is only one solution. I believe we have a legitimate, reasonable approach that would help businesses without negatively affecting the ADA. I ask all members to support my amendment and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman Goodlatte. For what purposes does the gentleman from Texas seek recognition?

Mr. Poe. I move to strike the last word.

Chairman Goodlatte. Gentleman recognized for 5

1919 | minutes.

Mr. Poe. Mr. Chairman, I want to make some comments about the gentleman's amendment. First of all, we have worked with numerous groups on this legislation. The gentleman recalls 2 years ago this bill passed out of committee and never got any further than that. And since that time we have talked to people on both sides about the legislation. So it is really not a situation where we have not tried to figure out the best way forward.

The goal of the legislation is to fix problems. The goal of the legislation is not to punish bad lawyers. That is already happening. Lawyers that have abused the law have been sanctioned in some States. In some States they have disbarred lawyers from practicing law because of the abuse that they have had under this law, the ADA law. But the goal is not to go after lawyers.

The goal is to solve the problem. Get these problems fixed small or big, in between. Make businesses accessible to all peoples. And the gentleman's -- I know the amendment is well thought out but it just puts it back in the court's hands.

We do not want people in court. We want people to solve this issue without getting to court and put businesses on notice. I am willing to work on the notice and cure. I still think maybe there is some room for that in the

1944	legislation. But people need to be on notice what they are
1945	doing wrong so they can fix it and they need time to fix it
1946	so it is accessible to people who cannot get in the front
1947	door.
1948	So I would oppose this legislation. Lawyers are, some
1949	are getting punished by sanctions, and some are getting
1950	punished by disbarment. And I am glad they are. But let's
1951	not punish lawyers. That is not the goal here. Let the
1952	courts do that. Let's fix the problems and I will yield
1953	back my time.
1954	Mr. Swalwell. Actually, would the gentleman yield
1955	briefly?
1956	Mr. Poe. Yes, I will.
1957	Mr. Swalwell. Thank you, and I appreciate your
1958	willingness to work on the notice and cure and I will follow
1959	up with you on that if this is reported out. Thank you and
1960	I yield back to the gentlemen.
1961	Mr. Poe. And I yield to the chairman.
1962	Chairman Goodlatte. Why does the gentleman from
1963	Georgia seek recognition?
1964	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I move to strike the last
1965	word.
1966	Chairman Goodlatte. Gentlemen is recognized for 5
1967	minutes.
1968	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. I rise in opposition to this

legislation. I am puzzled. Well I am undecided on the amendment. But I will say that what is the problem that we are seeking to address with this legislation? Is it to force ADA compliance or is it to protect corporate culprit's from liability by those who would assert that they have been denied access to public accommodations because of their disability? That is the real question.

And another big question that I want to ask that has not been answered so far today is why after almost one-third of a century that the ADA has been the rule of law in this country, why is there such profound nonconformance to the provisions of ADA that would compel my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to be so insistent on passing legislation that would clip the wings of those who seek to use the law to compel compliance? We have not had any answers to that basic fundamental question.

And so I will note that our dear President came to power attacking President Obama for being a Muslim from Africa. He then went on a tirade against the Latino's being rapists and drug dealers. He has gone after the Muslims. He went after women in his history with those Access tapes. And he went after a disabled reporter during the campaign. Mocked them.

And so now here we have this legislation which is seeking to keep our disabled brothers and sisters from being

able to enjoy public accommodations just like everyone else.

You know, it is said that if you want to understand how someone else feels then maybe put on their shoes, walk in their shoes. Well I would say to maybe put a blindfold on and walk in that way, or maybe take a seat in a wheelchair and try to ambulate, and try to enjoy what other citizens enjoy. And when we do that we might catch a glimpse of how life is like by someone driving by.

We have had a lot of talk about drive-by this, drive-by lawsuits, but what about a person who is disabled who is driving by looking out of the windshield of their vehicle trying to hunt down an access ramp at a shopping center and there is none? What about railings for those who are disabled who need railings and they see from the windshield of their car that there is inaccessibility, the conditions.

And so it is been said during this hearing earlier that, well the disability lobby is very powerful and so no disabled person would just cry to themselves and move on. There would be some kind of complaint about it and the property owner would do the right thing. Well, they have not done the right thing in 30 years and they are not going to do the right thing now.

You know it saddens me to know that there are people who still to this day cannot -- do not have access to the facilities that we have access to. And it pains me to know

that we are taking steps to try to cut their ability to gain access when the only way you can do that is to get into somebody's pocket, get into a corporate wrongdoers pocket by taking them to court.

And what is so tragic about it is a lot of them just do not even worry -- they just pay the nuisance value of the suit and the condition remains. And so then they are subject to being hounded by lawyers with drive-by clients representing real people who are handicapped and trying to get relief not just for themselves but for others. And we want to clip the wings of the lawyers; we are blaming the lawyers for bringing lawsuits. This is not a good deal for the American people.

This is a bad deal. And we have had bad dealing in government and it has affected the people of this country to the point where people are now distrustful of their government.

Why? Because government does not work for them it works for the rich and the powerful, but it does not work for them. This is another one of those pieces of legislation that will do just that. I cannot support it.

I cannot, in good conscience, allow my voice to not be heard when it comes to standing up for the rights of the disabled people in this country who need a voice. I will not get any corporate contributions for taking the stand,

2044 but I will feel good tonight going to bed knowing that I 2045 stood up for the little guy against the big guy. And with 2046 that, I yield back. 2047 Chairman Goodlatte. What purposes does the gentlewoman 2048 from Alabama seek recognition? 2049 Roby. Move to strike the last word. 2050 Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman is recognized for 2051 5 minutes. 2052 Mrs. Roby. Mr. Chairman, I want to speak briefly to 2053 why I am a cosponsor and support the underlying bill H.R. 2054 620, the ADA Education Reform Act. First, I want to thank 2055 you, Mr. Chairman, and Representative Poe for bringing this 2056 very important bill before our committee today. 2057 Small business owners are the backbone and the 2058 lifeblood of our economy especially in rural areas like my 2059 district in central and southeast Alabama. And it is the 2060 customers and clients of these businesses that make them 2061 thrive. It is essential for companies to maintain safe in 2062 ADA compliant places of business and be properly corrected 2063 when they are not. This bill finds that correct balance in 2064 the compliance process with ADA regulations and with actual 2065 harm to individuals. 2066 I want to tell the story of someone I met from 2067 Tallahassee, Alabama, who is a local grocery store owner. 2068 He was served with one of these demand letters due to a bar

2069 in one bathroom being off by one inch. He was so fearful of 2070 a lawsuit and losing his business due to expensive 2071 litigation that he agreed to settle and write a check for 2072 thousands of dollars. That was only one story, but I could 2073 keep going as this type of action has taken place throughout 2074 my district and across Alabama, from an auto parts store in 2075 Greenville to a locally-owned hotel in Tuscaloosa County. 2076 Under this bill, once a business is served a notice of 2077 an ADA violation the business must perform corrective action 2078 in a certain timeframe. If this action is not performed and 2079 the violation is not corrected, legal action can still be 2080 Instead of coercing small businesses into settlement taken. 2081 checks, pointing out and having a timeline to fix a problem 2082 takes these types of issues out of court and corrected in a more expedited fashion. We need commonsense solutions in 2083 2084 practice, and this bill does exactly that. Thank you, Mr. 2085 Chairman. I yield back. 2086 Chairman Goodlatte. A question occurs on the amendment 2087 offered by the gentlewoman from California. 2088 All those in favor, respond by saying aye. 2089 Those opposed no. 2090 The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to. Are 2091 there further amendments to H.R. 620? 2092 Mr. Raskin. Mr. Chairman. 2093 Chairman Goodlatte. For what purpose does the

2094	gentleman from Maryland seeks recognition?
2095	Mr. Raskin. I have an amendment at the desk.
2096	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report the
2097	amendment. We do not have the amendment.
2098	Mr. Raskin. Let's see. I thought it was here.
2099	Ms. Adcock. An amendment to H.R. 620, offered by Mr.
2100	Raskin. Page 4
2101	[The amendment of Mr. Raskin follows:]
2102	******* COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment is considered as read, and the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. Raskin. Thank you kindly, Mr. Chairman. I was happy to hear Congressman Poe refocus the committee's attention on fixing the problem and not diverting the attention of the committee to questions of lawyers and litigation.

And I was similarly moved by Congressman Collins' statements earlier today about how his focus is on fixing the problem. Like him, I have disabled people in my family, and all of us want to make sure that the Americans With Disabilities Act, which was a tremendous legislative breakthrough for disabled people in America is actually concretized on the ground. So, that disabled Americans have full and complete access to all of the establishments; restaurants, hotels, motels, department stores, office buildings that everybody else has access to. So, I think we are all agreed. I agree with my colleague from Alabama. We all favor and want to support small business, and we all favor and want to support disabled Americans.

And I have got an amendment which I think should pass and it should meet with everybody's support. It does deal with the notice and cure period, and if you will follow along with me on page three under the notice and cure period

section, you will see why I am offering this amendment. If you look at line 10 it begins that "a civil action under the ADA may not be commenced by a person aggrieved by such failure unless that person has provided to the owner or operator of the accommodation a written notice specific enough to allow such owner or operator to identify the barrier." That is what I think Mr. Collins was referring to before when he said if the bathroom is not accessible, or the elevator is not working, that that would put the owner or the operator of the establishment on notice.

But then if you turn the page to Page 4, a whole new section was added, C, specification of details of alleged violation. And here it says, "the written notice required under subparagraph B must also specify in detail the circumstances under which an individual was actually denied access to a public accommodation," which is fine, including the address of the property, which is fine. But then, it adds "the specific sections of the Americans With Disabilities Act alleged to have been violated, whether a request for assistance in removing an architectural barrier to access was made, and whether the barrier to access was a permanent or temporary or barrier."

Now, my amendment would simplify it by simply saying "the written notice required under subparagraph B must include the address of the property and a description of the

barrier or circumstances under which a person was denied access to a public accommodation." For example, there was no bathroom that was accessible. There was no elevator we could use. There was no ramp. But by adding this laundry list of other things what we do is precisely incentivize people to go to lawyers. It requires that lawyers get involved. How many ordinary citizens who are not lawyers are going to be able to identify the specific sections of the Americans With Disabilities Act that are alleged to have been violated?

So, in other words, in order to simply write a note saying, "you do not have an accessible bathroom in your restaurant, your office has no way for me to get to the third floor," I have got to go out and find a lawyer. It creates precisely the incentive which I thought was the whole purpose of the bill to remove. Similarly, whether a request for assistance in removing an architectural barrier to access was made: that, I thought, was the whole purpose of this process, is to notify them, but now this invites a swearing contest, he said, she said. They either asked before or they did not ask before or it was not sufficient or they talked to the person at the counter, but they did not go to the manager. They went to the deputy manager. I mean, it just does not make any sense to put that in, and whether the barrier to access was a permanent or temporary

barrier: if that is too complicated for the business to figure out, how is the ordinary person who is trying to enjoy the benefits of the Americans with Disabilities Act supposed to do that?

So, again, I do not think that this departs in any way from the spirit or the purpose of what you are trying to do with this legislation. But I think we need to get rid of all of the extra baggage in this section which invites and demands and requires lawyers to be involved. So, I would simply say it should be enough to be able to identify the establishment, address what the problem is that the person suffered. And that should be enough to put them on notice so you can, as you said, Mr. Poe, fix the problem, get to the problem, as opposed to begin a kind of pre-litigation process with all of these other factors. With that, Mr. Chairman, I will yield.

Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman.

For what purpose gentleman from Texas to seek recognition?

Mr. Poe. I move to strike the last word. I assume I

am recognized. Professor, I appreciate your amendment. You

are right about the whole purpose is to keep the lawyers out

of this, and we want a citizen that believes that they have

been denied access to a business to be able to put the

business on notice in the easiest way, whether that is

writing a handwritten note, sending it in the mail; whatever

2203 it takes. But we do not want them to go to a lawyer, to 2204 have to get a lawyer, to write them a letter that is 2205 legalese to put them on notice. Your suggestions are very 2206 well taken. If you are willing to withdraw your amendment, 2207 I will be glad to work with you on a final draft on this 2208 language to make it simpler, instead of more complicated. 2209 Mr. Raskin. Mr. Poe, I am delighted to work with you 2210 on it of course. You do have some problem with the language 2211 that I painstakingly drafted last night and submitted to 2212 committee --2213 Mr. Poe. For class today. Is that what you mean? 2214 Mr. Raskin. I did my homework. 2215 Immediately, I do not have a problem with it. Mr. Poe. 2216 But I would like to talk to you more about it. Maybe we can 2217 work on some of the other issues that have been brought up 2218 as well to make the bill better, to seek the goal that we 2219 are talking about. 2220 Chairman Goodlatte. And if the gentleman would yield -2221 2222 Mr. Poe. Yes, sir, I will yield to the chairman. 2223 Chairman Goodlatte. The committee and the committee's 2224 staff on the majority side would be happy to work with you 2225 and assure you that we will allow time for that, and we will 2226 not go to the floor before we have. 2227 Mr. Raskin. Okay, with that understanding, I am happy

2228	to withdraw the amendment. Thank you.
2229	Mr. Poe. I yield back my time.
2230	Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment
2231	is withdrawn. Are there any other amendments to H.R. 620?
2232	A reporting quorum being present, the question is on the
2233	motion to report the bill H.R. 620 favorably to the house.
2234	Those in favor will say aye.
2235	Those opposed, no.
2236	The ayes have it, and the bill is ordered reported
2237	favorably.
2238	Mr. Conyers. A recorded vote.
2239	Chairman Goodlatte. A recorded vote has been
2240	requested. The clerk will call the roll.
2241	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
2242	Chairman Goodlatte. Aye.
2243	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
2244	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
2245	[No response.]
2246	Mr. Smith?
2247	[No response.]
2248	Mr. Chabot?
2249	Mr. Chabot. Aye.
2250	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
2251	Mr. Issa?
2252	[No response.]

2253	Mr. King?
2254	[No response.]
2255	Mr. Franks?
2256	[No response.]
2257	Mr. Gohmert?
2258	Mr. Gohmert. Yes.
2259	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes yes.
2260	Mr. Jordan?
2261	[No response.]
2262	Mr. Poe?
2263	Mr. Poe. Yes.
2264	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes yes.
2265	Mr. Marino?
2266	Mr. Marino. Yes.
2267	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes yes.
2268	Mr. Gowdy?
2269	[No response.]
2270	Mr. Labrador?
2271	Mr. Labrador. Yes.
2272	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes yes.
2273	Mr. Farenthold?
2274	[No response.]
2275	Mr. Collins?
2276	[No response.]
2277	Mr. DeSantis?

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2278	[No response.]
2279	Mr. Buck?
2280	[No response.]
2281	Mr. Ratcliffe?
2282	[No response.]
2283	Mrs. Roby?
2284	Mrs. Roby. Aye.
2285	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Roby votes aye.
2286	Mr. Gaetz?
2287	Mr. Gaetz. Aye.
2288	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes aye.
2289	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
2290	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana. Aye.
2291	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
2292	Mr. Biggs?
2293	[No response.]
2294	Mr. Rutherford?
2295	[No response.]
2296	Mrs. Handel?
2297	Mrs. Handel. Aye.
2298	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes aye.
2299	Mr. Conyers?
2300	Mr. Conyers. No.
2301	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Conyers votes no.
2302	Mr. Nadler?

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2303	[No response.]
2304	Ms. Lofgren?
2305	[No response.]
2306	Ms. Jackson Lee?
2307	[No response.]
2308	Mr. Cohen?
2309	Mr. Cohen. No.
2310	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cohen votes no.
2311	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
2312	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. No.
2313	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes no.
2314	Mr. Deutch?
2315	[No response.]
2316	Mr. Gutierrez?
2317	[No response.]
2318	Ms. Bass?
2319	[No response.]
2320	Mr. Richmond?
2321	[No response.]
2322	Mr. Jeffries?
2323	[No response.]
2324	Mr. Cicilline?
2325	Mr. Cicilline. No.
2326	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cicilline votes no.
2327	Mr. Swalwell?

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2328	Mr. Swalwell. No.
2329	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Swalwell votes no.
2330	Mr. Lieu?
2331	Mr. Lieu. No.
2332	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Lieu votes no.
2333	Mr. Raskin?
2334	Mr. Raskin. No.
2335	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Raskin votes no.
2336	Ms. Jayapal?
2337	[No response.]
2338	Mr. Schneider?
2339	[No response.]
2340	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Ohio.
2341	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Jordan votes yes.
2342	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Arizona.
2343	Mr. Franks. Aye.
2344	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks says aye.
2345	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from South Carolina.
2346	Mr. Gowdy. Yes.
2347	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes yes.
2348	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from California.
2349	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Issa votes yes.
2350	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Florida.
2351	Mr. Rutherford. Yes.
2352	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes yes.

2353	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman from Washington.
2354	Ms. Jayapal. No.
2355	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Illinois.
2356	Mr. Schneider. No.
2357	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes no. Ms. Jayapal votes
2358	no.
2359	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Mr. Chairman.
2360	Chairman Goodlatte. What purpose does the gentleman
2361	from Georgia seek recognition?
2362	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. How am I recorded?
2363	Chairman Goodlatte. I believe you were recorded as a
2364	no.
2365	Mr. Johnson of Georgia. Is that correct?
2366	Ms. Adcock. Yes.
2367	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
2368	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 15 members voted aye, 9
2369	members voted no.
2370	Chairman Goodlatte. The ayes have it, and the bill is
2371	ordered reported favorably to the house. Members will have
2372	2 days to submit views. Pursuant to notice, I now call up
2373	House Resolution 488 for purposes of markup, and move that
2374	the committee report the resolution unfavorably to the
2375	House. The clerk will report the resolution.
2376	Ms. Adcock. H. Res. 488: of inquiry requesting the
2377	President and directing the Attorney General to transmit

2378	respectively certain documents to the House of
2379	Representatives relating to the removal of former Federal
2380	Bureau of investigation Director James Comey.
2381	[The bill follows:]
2382	******* INSERT 3 ******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the resolution is considered as read and open for amendment at any time, and I will begin by recognizing myself for an opening statement.

Today, we will consider the fifth resolution of inquiry that has been referred to the Judiciary Committee of this Congress. This fifth resolution of inquiry yet again seeks documents from the executive branch on a broad swath of matters that its sponsors believe will show "ties between President Trump, his campaign, and Russia." And, yet again, it is simply an exercise in partisan mudslinging and an imprudent use of the committee's valuable time. This resolution barely differs from Ms. Jayapal's resolution we considered in July. Given that there is a special counsel in place examining the issue, this resolution seeks to shed light on the committee should instead use its time on more substantive issues for the people we serve, while exercising appropriate oversight over the special counsel's investigation, which we are doing.

Pursuant to Rule 13 of the rules of the House of Representatives, the committee must act on this resolution within 14 legislative days of its introduction, or we could be discharged from our referral. Accordingly, we have scheduled the resolution for markup today in order to preserve our referral. Guarding the substance of the

resolution I delivered a statement during the last markup that reflects my views. So, I will not waste the members' time today rehashing that statement. I urge my colleagues to vote to report this resolution unfavorably. It is now my pleasure to recognize the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Conyers, for his opening statement.

[The opening statement of Mr. Conyers follows:]

2416 | ****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

Mr. Conyers. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As you noted, we will now consider virtually the same resolution we visited before the recess. It may be useful to review just how the committee arrived at this point.

Since President Trump took office, my colleagues and I have written to the administration at least 20 times, more than 20 times, on matters ranging from routine oversight to allegations of obstruction of justice. To date, the administration has not sent us a single meaningful response. As a matter of fact, the administration has indicated that it will answer no letters sent by Democrats or rank and file Republicans. Over that same time, Mr. Chairman, my colleagues and I have written to you on six separate occasions to ask for oversight hearings with the leadership of the Department of Justice. But, to date, this committee has not held a single substantive oversight hearing of the Trump administration.

That inaction is why we in the minority have little choice but to pursue today's resolution of inquiry. As you have explained, you and I met with Director Comey before he was fired. We were also scheduled to have a similar closed-door meeting with Special Counsel Mueller earlier this week before he had to cancel. I appreciate these efforts. But no closed-door meetings can replace what my colleagues request and what our assignment on this committee demands:

open oversight hearings with the leadership of the

Department of Justice without delay. I am unconvinced by
the reasons we have been offered for postponing this
oversight.

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It has been suggested that we cannot discuss current events at the Department of Justice because there are other committees that have jurisdiction over parts of this. But we cannot ignore our responsibilities simply because the House and Senate Intelligence Committees are investigating similar subjects. Under the leadership of Chairman Grassley, our Senate Judiciary counterparts began their work in this space months ago, and we should join them. It has also been suggested that until the special counsel's investigation is complete; it is redundant for the House of Representatives to engage in fact gathering on the same issues. Not so. Nothing about the investigation prevents us from conducting our own oversight. The Congressional Research Service has compiled nearly a century of precedent from the Palmer raids of 1920 through Operation Fast and Furious in 2011 where congressional inquiries overlapped with ongoing work at the Department of Justice.

Some insist that we cannot conduct oversight of the Trump Administration until the special counsel finishes his investigation, because the committee did not hold any hearings until Director Comey completed his investigation of

the Hillary Clinton. The record simply shows otherwise, Mr. Chairman. During the oversight hearings with the Department of Justice and the FBI, you and others in the majority repeatedly asked the witnesses about the Clinton investigation, in 2015, long before the investigation was over.

The resolution before us today sponsored by Mr.

Cicilline and Ms. Jayapal asks for information related to the firing of James Comey, the Attorney General's recusal, and a meeting at Trump Tower between Russian officials and senior campaign personnel, among other matters. We require this information to do our jobs, plain and simple. And if you agree, and every member of this committee should agree, then I urge that you support this resolution. And if you disagree, then I hope the majority allows the courtesy of an up or down vote on the matter.

The majority took a different course at our last markup, Mr. Chairman, when you ruled in order an amendment offered by Mr. Gaetz of Florida. That amendment struck the contents of the underlying resolution and replaced it with a long list of lingering grievances aimed at Hillary Clinton. We later learned that this amendment was largely borrowed from an online forum that is notorious for playing host to unfounded conspiracy theories and anti-Islam tendencies. I am reading from an article published in Wired Magazine on

2492	July 28, and I ask consent that it be placed into the
2493	record.
2494	Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, it will be made
2495	a part of the record.
2496	[The information follows:]
2497	****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Mr. Conyers. Thank you. Later that day, Ms. Jayapal,
Mr. Cicilline, and I wrote to Chairman Goodlatte. That
letter reads in pertinent part, "the tactics employed this
week are inconsistent with the rights and prerogatives of
the minority as we have understood and observed them over
our legislative careers. In our judgment, the majority's
actions were heavy-handed, and violate the sense of fair
process that you and other chairmen of this committee,
including myself, have enjoyed over the years," and I ask,
sir, that this letter be placed into the record as well.

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, it will be made
a part of the record.

[The information follows:]

2511 | ****** COMMITTEE INSERT ******

Mr. Conyers. Thank you. I understand that Mr. Gaetz plans on introducing a similar amendment today. I urge my colleagues to consider both its origin and its effect on committee process, and to reject it accordingly.

We have an obligation to conduct oversight, and until we do, I am afraid that we may be at a bit of an impasse. If we return to regular order and begin our oversight work in earnest, then I suspect my colleagues will no longer see the need for resolutions of inquiry. But until the administration answers our questions and until the majority calls them here to do so, my colleagues and I will do everything in our power to hold both the administration and the majority accountable. And I thank you for your consideration of the items that I have discussed, and I thank the Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman Goodlatte. The chair thanks the gentleman. The chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida for 5 minutes.

Mr. Gaetz. I thank the Chairman. I thank the ranking member, the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, for recognizing the contribution that I made to this committee in calling for a special counsel to investigate Hillary Clinton, the Clinton Foundation, and what seems to be the obvious crimes committed therein. And as we sit here today in the Judiciary Committee, I suspect that that call for a

special counsel is even more relevant because during the August recess we learned that, as a consequence of the United States Senate's investigation, they found that Mr. Comey drafted the exoneration of Hillary Clinton prior to even conducting major elements of the investigation, prior to interviewing key witnesses, prior to interviewing Hillary Clinton herself. But Mr. Comey was ready, and willing, and able to give immunity deals to people who were the close confidants of Hillary Clinton.

Here is why this is so important. Here is why it is not heavy-handed or why it is not partisan mudslinging. It is very likely that today, throughout the world, as a consequence of the Clinton Foundation funneling money to itself and selling access to the State Department, that we have got people around the world acting on behalf of the United States. And we do not even know if those transactions were arms linked. If there was corruption at the Clinton Foundation, if the Clinton Foundation was laundering money for access to the State Department, I believe that the Judiciary Committee has an obligation to call for a special counsel, and to get the real criminals held accountable for their real crimes.

Democrats on this committee, time and again, have suggested that there is some improper activity with President Trump in Russia without pointing to evidence.

There is still not a shred of evidence of that collusion.

The only evidence of collusion with Russia is the evidence that Hillary Clinton was working with Russian operatives on the Uranium One deal, or that Democrat operatives were working with Fusion GPS on dossiers that are false about President Trump to embarrass him, both before and after the election.

And, so, Mr. Chairman, again, I am grateful that my activity in this committee has drawn the attention of the minority party, such to the point that it was referenced in the distinguished gentleman from Michigan's statement. I renew that call for a special counsel, and I am very eager to find out whether or not the Clinton Foundation, the uranium one deal, fusion GPS, and this exoneration conclusion that Mr. Comey reached prior to conducting the investigation calls into question the very legitimacy of the United States' efforts around the world. And, with that, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Jordan.

Mr. Jordan. Well, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I did not know that was the process that we were going to follow, but I appreciate that. I support the gentleman's amendment.

Ask yourself a series of questions. I did this the last time we got together on the same issue in the summer of

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2016. Ask yourself a series of questions: Why would the Attorney General of the United States tell the FBI Director of the United States to call the Clinton investigation a matter, not an investigation? Why would she do that? Why in the summer of 2016 would the Attorney General meet with the former President Clinton on the tarmac one day before the Benghazi report is to be released, three days before Secretary Clinton is to be interviewed? Why would the Attorney General meet with President Bill Clinton on the tarmac at the Phoenix airport? Why would she do that? Why would in the days just following that meeting between Ms. Lynch and President Clinton, why would the Attorney General of the United States in correspondence with the public relations folks at the Justice Department? Why would she use the name Elizabeth Carlisle in e-mails and not Loretta Lynch? Why would she do that? Mr. Raskin, you are laughing. I am laughing too. would she do that? If you are just talking about grandkids

Mr. Raskin, you are laughing. I am laughing too. Why would she do that? If you are just talking about grandkids and golf, why the need to use a fake name, right? Why would she do that, and why would the Department of Justice give Cheryl Mills the greatest immunity deal I have ever seen, Secretary Clinton's former Chief of Staff? Why would they do that in the summer of 2016, and why would Director Comey, as my friend and colleague pointed out, draft an exoneration letter before the investigation of Secretary Clinton is

complete, and before Secretary Clinton has even been interviewed by the FBI? Why would all those things happen in the summer of 2016? It just seems like a logical question to ask.

Maybe, just maybe, it was because there was something else going on in the summer of 2016. Maybe there was a presidential election, and maybe the United States Justice Department was trying to influence what happened in that election. I think it is maybe a logical conclusion to reach, and certainly some questions need to be asked. But that raises one more important "why" question this committee needs to ask ourselves today. This is where the ranking member is right. We should conduct our own investigation as the ranking member just said, which raises an important "why" question for the House Judiciary Committee. Why will not this committee look into this? Why will we not look into exactly what Mr. Gaetz is asking for?

Mr. Chairman, we sent a letter seven weeks ago to the Justice Department asking for a bunch of documents. Have we gotten any of those documents yet? I do not think we have. So, maybe it is time the House Judiciary Committee did its job, and started looking into these issues that Mr. Gaetz raises in his resolution that this committee passed 7 and a half weeks ago. Maybe that is the most important. All those other "why" questions from 2016 are pretty darn

2637 important, but the most important "why" question is why is 2638 not the Judiciary Committee looking? I would love to have 2639 Mr. Comey sitting right there where these folks are sitting 2640 at the table, and ask him some questions about those things 2641 that took place in the summer of 2016. I would love to have 2642 Loretta Lynch sit there: ask her some questions about why 2643 these things took place and why did she have to use the 2644 alias, Elizabeth Carlisle? 2645 That is the kind of thing I think the American people 2646 are demanding. Those are the questions they want asked, and 2647 the most important question is the one we need to ask 2648 ourselves. Why is not the House Judiciary Committee doing 2649 an investigation? So, I support the gentleman's amendment, 2650 hope it passes, hope we do not just table, call the previous 2651 question on the Democrat and I hope we pass Mr. Gaetz' amendment, and refer it favorably, hope we actually start 2652 2653 getting the documents we requested 7 weeks ago from the 2654 Justice Department. With that, I yield back and thank the 2655 gentleman for yielding. 2656 Chairman Goodlatte. The chair recognizes the gentleman 2657 from Rhode Island, Mr. Cicilline, the sponsor of the 2658 resolution for his opening statement. 2659 Mr. Cicilline. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2660 Chairman Goodlatte. -- his opening statement. 2661 Mr. Cicilline. When Congresswoman Jayapal and I

originally filed this resolution of inquiry we were seeking answers to urgent questions about the conduct of members of the Trump administration. These questions remain and they include, one, the full extent of the ties between Donald Trump's inner circle and the Kremlin; whether James Comey was fired to hide the truth about Donald Trump's ties to Russia or collusion between the Trump campaign and Russian officials; and if Jeff Sessions violated his recusal when he participated in the firing of James Comey.

However, we were denied not only the answers to our questions; we were denied the right to even ask these questions. Instead of allowing us to have a debate and offer amendments, the majority used a procedural maneuver to erase our underlying resolution and turn this committee into a vehicle to conduct yet another pointless, baseless investigation of Hillary Clinton, and apparently intending to do the very same thing today.

This is not a serious effort by Republicans who have serious questions about the conduct of Hillary Clinton. If it were, they would have filed a resolution of inquiry or made a legislative effort to do that. They only raise the issue of Hillary Clinton in response to an effort --

Mr. Jordan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Cicilline. I will not yield -- in response to an effort to get at the truth about the Trump administration.

It is only in an effort to distract and to draw attention away from the real question we raised that they pull out their favorite subject: Hillary Clinton. If it were a serious effort, there would be a resolution from you. There would be a bill from you. But there is not; you only do it when we raise questions about the Trump administration.

Mr. Jordan. You got a special counsel, a resolution we introduced.

Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman, I control the time. At markup, the majority also gave its standard arguments against doing oversight of the Trump administration, namely, there are other committees of jurisdiction and outside independent counsel are investigating similar subject matters. Why would we abdicate our constitutional oversight role is beyond me. And today, our colleagues have even gone so far as to describe our serious oversight responsibilities as partisan mudslinging. What a sad, sad suggestion. These arguments belie the Judiciary Committee's duty to fully investigate serious allegations, such as the Trump administration's improper interference in law enforcement investigations, which fall squarely within our committee's jurisdiction.

While I wish the majority's tactics had come as a shock, it became yet another example of this committee's willful abandonment of our oversight function; and there

have been, as the ranking member suggested, five letters -one from March 10th, one from May 11th, one from June 21st,
one from July 20th, and one from August 30th, which I would
ask to be part of the record -- where we implore the
chairman of this committee to conduct oversight hearings on
many of the issues we are raising today. Those remain
unanswered.

And for months Democrats on this committee have requested hearings and filed multiple resolutions of inquiry on issues that require immediate and meaningful oversight without any willingness from our colleagues on the other side of the aisle to join us in this work. Our requests have called for investigations into the President's potential violations of the emoluments clause, the President's assault on the independence of the Department of Justice and the FBI, and the troubling contacts between the Trump campaign and Russian officials. As our requests continue to go unanswered, the majority has made clear through its silence and inaction how much it is willing to avoid its responsibilities in order to protect this administration.

Indeed, what took place at the previous markup made the need for the Cicilline-Jayapal resolution more evident in order to demand that this committee do its job, and that is why, in addition to the requests in our previous resolution,

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Congresswoman Jayapal and I have added requests for information relating to the review of any application for a security clearance by Attorney General Sessions or Senior Advisor to the President, Jared Kushner, and any communication that Donald Trump, Jr., Paul Manafort, or Jared Kushner had with the DOJ or FBI regarding their June 9, 2016, meeting with a Russian government attorney and a former Russian military intelligence officer. Recent events only add to the growing number of questions that this committee should be investigating, including the President's controversial pardon of Sheriff Joe Arpaio and his unconstitutional directive to ban transgendered individuals from the military. Our constituents did not send us here to do nothing while our Constitution, our democratic institutions, and our ethical norms are under assault. I strongly urge my colleagues to support this resolution by inquiry. Mr. Gaetz. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. Cicilline. We can exercise our constitutional

Mr. Cicilline. We can exercise our constitutional responsibility to act as a check on the executive branch.

And I suggest to my colleagues respectfully that history will judge this committee very harshly if we continue to refuse to fulfill our constitutional oversight responsibilities, and we will be responsible for having abandoned the serious responsibilities of this committee if

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2762	we continue to in every way thwart efforts to get to the
2763	bottom of these investigations, these important questions.
2764	And I urge my colleagues to support this resolution so we
2765	can begin to fulfill this very important responsibility.
2766	Mr. Gaetz. Will the gentleman yield?
2767	Chairman Goodlatte. The time of the gentleman has
2768	expired.
2769	Mr. Cicilline. I would have.
2770	Chairman Goodlatte. I now recognize myself for
2771	purposes of offering an amendment in the nature of a
2772	substitute. The clerk will report the amendment.
2773	Ms. Adcock. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to
2774	H. Res. 488, offered by Mr. Goodlatte of Virginia.
2775	[The amendment of Chairman Goodlatte follows:]
2776	******* INSERT 4 *******

Chairman Goodlatte. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read and I now recognize myself to explain the amendment.

I am offering this substitute amendment in order to allow the motion for the previous question to be made. My amendment does not make any substantive changes to the resolution; it merely makes the first clause of the resolution align better with the other clauses in the resolution related to the dismissal of Director Comey. As the members of this committee are aware, this is the fifth resolution of inquiry that this committee has been forced to consider this congress. This is the same number of resolutions of inquiry that all other House committees combined have had to consider. This committee simply does not have the time to continually debate these non-binding partisan resolutions.

As I have mentioned during the debates on the four other resolutions of inquiry this committee has already considered this Congress, resolutions of inquiry have no effect whatsoever on the executive branch's obligation to produce documents to Congress. Rather, these resolutions, even if acted upon by the House, have no greater legal force than sending the executive branch a letter except that sending a letter does not monopolize the committee's time, time that could be better spent working to reform our

immigration system, enacting criminal justice reform, reauthorizing the Department of Justice, advancing legislation to create jobs and restore economic prosperity for families and businesses across the Nation, securing constitutional freedoms, or working on legislation that helps protect our citizens from the threats posed by crime and terrorism.

This resolution of inquiry is particularly emblematic of the time-consuming nature of these resolutions. At the committee's last markup we debated a resolution of inquiry that was nearly identical to the resolution we have before us today. Debate on that resolution took almost 2 and a half hours of the committee's time; yet we are here again today, required to debate it all over again. The committee cannot continue to spend its valuable time debating these repetitive, non-binding resolutions, resolutions that seek information that is already subject to investigation by at least six other entities. Accordingly, I move the previous question on my substitute amendment and the clerk will call the roll.

2822 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?

2823 Chairman Goodlatte. Aye.

2824 Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.

2825 Mr. Sensenbrenner?

2826 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Aye.

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2827	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes aye.
2828	Mr. Smith?
2829	Mr. Smith. Aye.
2830	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Smith votes aye.
2831	Mr. Chabot?
2832	Mr. Chabot. Aye.
2833	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
2834	Mr. Issa?
2835	[No response.]
2836	Mr. King?
2837	[No response.]
2838	Mr. Franks?
2839	Mr. Franks. Yes.
2840	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes yes.
2841	Mr. Gohmert?
2842	Mr. Gohmert. Yes.
2843	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes yes.
2844	Mr. Jordan?
2845	Mr. Jordan. Yes.
2846	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Jordan votes yes.
2847	Mr. Poe?
2848	[No response.]
2849	Mr. Marino?
2850	[No response.]
2851	Mr. Gowdy?

2852	Mr. Gowdy. Yes.
2853	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes yes.
2854	Mr. Labrador?
2855	Mr. Labrador. Yes.
2856	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes yes.
2857	Mr. Farenthold?
2858	Mr. Farenthold. Yes.
2859	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Farenthold votes yes.
2860	Mr. Collins?
2861	Mr. Collins. Aye.
2862	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes aye.
2863	Mr. DeSantis?
2864	[No response.]
2865	Mr. Buck?
2866	[No response.]
2867	Mr. Ratcliffe?
2868	[No response.]
2869	Mrs. Roby?
2870	Mrs. Roby. Aye.
2871	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Roby votes aye.
2872	Mr. Gaetz?
2873	Mr. Gaetz. Aye.
2874	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes aye.
2875	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
2876	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana. Aye.

2877	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
2878	Mr. Biggs?
2879	[No response.]
2880	Mr. Rutherford?
2881	Mr. Rutherford. Aye.
2882	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes aye.
2883	Mrs. Handel?
2884	Mrs. Handel. Aye.
2885	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes aye.
2886	Mr. Conyers?
2887	[No response.]
2888	Mr. Nadler?
2889	[No response.]
2890	Ms. Lofgren?
2891	[No response.]
2892	Ms. Jackson Lee?
2893	[No response.]
2894	Mr. Cohen?
2895	[No response.]
2896	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
2897	[No response.]
2898	Mr. Deutch?
2899	[No response.]
2900	Mr. Gutierrez?
2901	[No response.]

2902	Ms. Bass?
2903	[No response.]
2904	Mr. Richmond?
2905	[No response.]
2906	Mr. Jeffries?
2907	[No response.]
2908	Mr. Cicilline?
2909	[No response.]
2910	Mr. Swalwell?
2911	[No response.]
2912	Mr. Lieu?
2913	[No response.]
2914	Mr. Raskin?
2915	[No response.]
2916	Ms. Jayapal?
2917	[No response.]
2918	Mr. Schneider?
2919	Mr. Schneider. No.
2920	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes no.
2921	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Pennsylvania?
2922	Mr. Marino. Yes.
2923	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes yes.
2924	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Texas?
2925	Mr. Poe. Yes.
2926	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes yes.

2927	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
2928	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 18 members voted aye, 1
2929	member voted no.
2930	Chairman Goodlatte. And the motion to call the
2931	previous question is approved. The question is on the
2932	amendment in the nature of a substitute. All those in favor
2933	will say aye.
2934	Those opposed, no.
2935	In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the
2936	amendment is agreed to.
2937	Voice. May we have a roll call vote?
2938	Chairman Goodlatte. A roll call vote is requested and
2939	the clerk will call the roll.
2940	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
2941	Chairman Goodlatte. Aye.
2942	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
2943	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
2944	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Aye.
2945	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes aye.
2946	Mr. Smith?
2947	Mr. Smith. Aye.
2948	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Smith votes aye.
2949	Mr. Chabot?
2950	Mr. Chabot. Aye.
2951	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes aye.

2952	Mr. Issa?
2953	[No response.]
2954	Mr. King?
2955	[No response.]
2956	Mr. Franks?
2957	Mr. Franks. Aye.
2958	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes aye.
2959	Mr. Gohmert?
2960	Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
2961	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
2962	Mr. Jordan?
2963	[No response.]
2964	Mr. Poe?
2965	Mr. Poe. Yes.
2966	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes yes.
2967	Mr. Marino?
2968	Mr. Marino. Yes.
2969	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes yes.
2970	Mr. Gowdy?
2971	Mr. Gowdy. Yes.
2972	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes yes.
2973	Mr. Labrador?
2974	Mr. Labrador. Yes.
2975	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes yes.
2976	Mr. Farenthold?

2977	Mr. Farenthold. Yes.
2978	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Farenthold votes yes.
2979	Mr. Collins?
2980	Mr. Collins. Aye.
2981	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes aye.
2982	Mr. DeSantis?
2983	[No response.]
2984	Mr. Buck?
2985	[No response.]
2986	Mr. Ratcliffe?
2987	[No response.]
2988	Mrs. Roby?
2989	Mrs. Roby. Aye.
2990	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Roby votes aye.
2991	Mr. Gaetz?
2992	Mr. Gaetz. Aye.
2993	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes aye.
2994	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
2995	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana. Aye.
2996	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
2997	Mr. Biggs?
2998	[No response.]
2999	Mr. Rutherford?
3000	Mr. Rutherford. Aye.
3001	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes aye.

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3002
           Mrs. Handel?
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           Mrs. Handel. Aye.
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           Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes aye.
3005
           Mr. Conyers?
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            [No response.]
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           Mr. Nadler?
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            [No response.]
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           Ms. Lofgren?
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            [No response.]
3011
           Ms. Jackson Lee?
3012
            [No response.]
3013
           Mr. Cohen?
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            [No response.]
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           Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
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            [No response.]
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           Mr. Deutch?
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            [No response.]
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           Mr. Gutierrez?
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            [No response.]
3021
           Ms. Bass?
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            [No response.]
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           Mr. Richmond?
3024
            [No response.]
3025
           Mr. Jeffries?
3026
            [No response.]
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3027	Mr. Cicilline?
3028	[No response.]
3029	Mr. Swalwell?
3030	[No response.]
3031	Mr. Lieu?
3032	[No response.]
3033	Mr. Raskin?
3034	[No response.]
3035	Ms. Jayapal?
3036	[No response.]
3037	Mr. Schneider?
3038	Mr. Schneider. No.
3039	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes no.
3040	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, do we have a reporting
3041	quorum?
3042	Chairman Goodlatte. We are in the middle of a roll
3043	call at this point and we have a
3044	Ms. Jackson Lee. I do not believe we have a reporting
3045	quorum.
3046	Chairman Goodlatte. We are not reporting the bill; we
3047	are voting on the substitute.
3048	Ms. Jackson Lee. And my question is a parliamentary
3049	inquiry. Why did we shut down debate? Why are we in the
3050	process of
3051	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman can record her

3052	vote or not.
3053	Ms. Jackson Lee. There is not a reporting quorum and I
3054	am not making one because debate has been shut down.
3055	Chairman Goodlatte. Regular order. The clerk will
3056	report.
3057	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, is it not regular order
3058	to allow the minority to debate? And by your action
3059	Chairman Goodlatte. We are following the rules of the
3060	House. And the clerk will report.
3061	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 17 members voted aye, 1
3062	member voted no.
3063	Ms. Jackson Lee. This is in your discretion, Mr.
3064	Chairman. This is in your discretion, Mr. Chairman.
3065	Chairman Goodlatte. And the amendment in the nature of
3066	a substitute is agreed to.
3067	Ms. Jackson Lee. When will the reporting quorum occur
3068	and will allow us to debate the question?
3069	Chairman Goodlatte. The question is on
3070	Ms. Jackson Lee. I would like to move to strike the
3071	last word, Mr. Chairman. I would like to move to strike the
3072	last word.
3073	Chairman Goodlatte. The question is on the motion to
3074	report House Resolution 488 as amended
3075	Ms. Jackson Lee. I would like to move to strike the
3076	last word.

3077	Chairman Goodlatte unfavorably to the House.
3078	Those in favor, respond by saying aye.
3079	Those opposed, no.
3080	Ms. Jackson Lee. I want a record vote.
3081	Chairman Goodlatte. The ayes have it.
3082	Ms. Jackson Lee. I would like a record vote.
3083	Chairman Goodlatte. And a recorded vote has been
3084	requested and the clerk will call the roll
3085	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte?
3086	Chairman Goodlatte. Aye.
3087	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
3088	Mr. Sensenbrenner?
3089	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Aye.
3090	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes aye.
3091	Mr. Smith?
3092	Mr. Smith. Aye.
3093	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Smith votes aye.
3094	Mr. Chabot?
3095	Mr. Chabot. Aye.
3096	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
3097	Mr. Issa?
3098	[No response.]
3099	Mr. King?
3100	[No response.]
3101	Mr. Franks?

3102	Mr. Franks. Aye.
3103	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Franks votes aye.
3104	Mr. Gohmert?
3105	Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
3106	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
3107	Mr. Jordan?
3108	Mr. Jordan. Yes.
3109	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Jordan votes yes.
3110	Mr. Poe?
3111	Mr. Poe. Yes.
3112	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Poe votes yes.
3113	Mr. Marino?
3114	Mr. Marino. Yes.
3115	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Marino votes yes.
3116	Mr. Gowdy?
3117	Mr. Gowdy. Yes.
3118	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gowdy votes yes.
3119	Mr. Labrador?
3120	Mr. Labrador. Yes.
3121	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Labrador votes yes.
3122	Mr. Farenthold?
3123	Mr. Farenthold. Yes.
3124	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Farenthold votes yes.
3125	Mr. Collins?
3126	Mr. Collins. Yes.

3127	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Collins votes yes.
3128	Mr. DeSantis?
3129	[No response.]
3130	Mr. Buck?
3131	[No response.]
3132	Mr. Ratcliffe?
3133	[No response.]
3134	Mrs. Roby?
3135	Mrs. Roby. Aye.
3136	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Roby votes aye.
3137	Mr. Gaetz?
3138	Mr. Gaetz. Aye.
3139	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Gaetz votes aye.
3140	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana?
3141	[No response.]
3142	Mr. Biggs?
3143	[No response.]
3144	Mr. Rutherford?
3145	Mr. Rutherford. Aye.
3146	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Rutherford votes aye.
3147	Mrs. Handel?
3148	Mrs. Handel. Aye.
3149	Ms. Adcock. Mrs. Handel votes aye.
3150	Mr. Conyers?
3151	[No response.]

3152	Mr. Nadler?
3153	[No response.]
3154	Ms. Lofgren?
3155	[No response.]
3156	Ms. Jackson Lee?
3157	[No response.]
3158	Mr. Cohen?
3159	[No response.]
3160	Mr. Johnson of Georgia?
3161	[No response.]
3162	Mr. Deutch?
3163	[No response.]
3164	Mr. Gutierrez?
3165	[No response.]
3166	Ms. Bass?
3167	[No response.]
3168	Mr. Richmond?
3169	[No response.]
3170	Mr. Jeffries?
3171	[No response.]
3172	Mr. Cicilline?
3173	[No response.]
3174	Mr. Swalwell?
3175	[No response.]
3176	Mr. Lieu?

3177	[No response.]
3178	Mr. Raskin?
3179	[No response.]
3180	Ms. Jayapal?
3181	[No response.]
3182	Mr. Schneider?
3183	[No response.]
3184	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Louisiana?
3185	Mr. Johnson of Louisiana. Aye.
3186	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
3187	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Arizona?
3188	Mr. Biggs. Aye.
3189	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Biggs votes aye.
3190	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from California?
3191	Mr. Issa. Yes.
3192	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Issa votes yes.
3193	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Iowa?
3194	Mr. King. Aye.
3195	Ms. Adcock. Mr. King votes aye.
3196	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk
3197	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, how am I recorded?
3198	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman is already recorded.
3199	The gentlewoman from Texas?
3200	Ms. Adcock. Not recorded.
3201	Mr. Schneider. No.

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3202	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Schneider votes no.
3203	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman from Texas?
3204	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, I am absolutely voting
3205	no because you have shut down
3206	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman
3207	Ms. Jackson Lee debate and this is the wrong way
3208	to go about it, particularly if we are trying
3209	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman
3210	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Regular order.
3211	Ms. Jackson Lee to be unified on a number of
3212	issues in Congress.
3213	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Mr. Chairman, regular order.
3214	Ms. Jackson Lee. We need to be allowed for the debate.
3215	Mr. Sensenbrenner: Mr. Chairman, no debate. We are
3216	voting now.
3217	Ms. Jackson Lee. We are stopping the democratic
3218	process, the
3219	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
3220	Ms. Jackson Lee constitutional process that is
3221	necessary. I respect my friends
3222	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jackson Lee votes no.
3223	Ms. Jackson Lee but we have the right of the
3224	minority to debate the issue, Mr. Chairman.
3225	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman?
3226	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman

3227	Ms. Jackson Lee. The right of the minority to debate
3228	the issue
3229	Chairman Goodlatte will suspend.
3230	Ms. Jackson Lee. I am voting yes, Mr. Chairman.
3231	But can I please
3232	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman will suspend. If
3233	other members
3234	Ms. Jackson Lee in a calm way say
3235	Chairman Goodlatte who wish to.
3236	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman?
3237	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, I would like to vote no
3238	on disapproving of resolution to investigate
3239	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jackson Lee votes no.
3240	Ms. Jackson Lee the acts of the Attorney General -
3241	_
3242	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.
3243	Ms. Jackson Lee the President, and
3244	Chairman Goodlatte. We have already done that. The
3245	gentleman from Rhode Island?
3246	Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Chairman, I too vote no and I want
3247	to
3248	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cicilline votes no.
3249	Mr. Cicilline: again express my disappointment
3250	that we were unable to have debate on what I consider to be
3251	a critically important issue.

3252	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Maryland?
3253	Mr. Cicilline. The American people are watching this
3254	and I would be
3255	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Regular order
3256	Mr. Cicilline horrified
3257	Mr. Sensenbrenner: Mr. Chairman.
3258	Mr. Cicilline at the idea that debate was cut off
3259	and we were not able to
3260	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Texas?
3261	Mr. Cicilline present arguments in support of the
3262	resolution.
3263	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Texas?
3264	Mr. Ratcliffe. Yes.
3265	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Ratcliffe votes yes.
3266	Chairman Goodlatte. Has every member voted who wishes
3267	to vote? The gentleman from New York?
3268	Mr. Nadler. I vote no.
3269	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Nadler votes no.
3270	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Tennessee?
3271	Mr. Cohen. I vote no.
3272	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Cohen votes no.
3273	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Maryland?
3274	Mr. Raskin. It has been a mockery of democracy. I
3275	vote no.
3276	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Raskin votes no.

3277	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentlewoman from Washington?
3278	Ms. Jayapal. I vote no and I am deeply
3279	Ms. Adcock. Ms. Jayapal votes no.
3280	Ms. Jayapal disappointed that we
3281	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Regular order.
3282	Ms. Jayapal have not been able to
3283	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Michigan?
3284	Ms. Jayapal debate this resolution, Mr. Chairman.
3285	Mr. Sensenbrenner. Regular order.
3286	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Michigan?
3287	Mr. Conyers. How am I recorded, Mr. Chairman?
3288	Ms. Adcock. Not recorded.
3289	Mr. Conyers. I vote no.
3290	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Conyers votes no.
3291	Chairman Goodlatte. The gentleman from Colorado, Mr.
3292	Buck?
3293	Mr. Buck. I vote yes.
3294	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Buck votes yes.
3295	Chairman Goodlatte. The clerk will report.
3296	Ms. Adcock. Mr. Chairman, 23 members voted aye, 8
3297	members voted no.
3298	Chairman Goodlatte. The ayes have it and the
3299	resolution as amended is ordered reported unfavorably to the
3300	House. Members will have 2 days to submit views. Without
3301	objection, the resolution be reported as a single amendment

3302	in the nature of a substitute incorporating
3303	Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, can I object?
3304	Chairman Goodlatte all adopted amendments and the
3305	staff is authorized to make technical and conforming
3306	changes. This completes the work of the committee today. I
3307	thank all the members for attending and the markup is
3308	adjourned.
3309	[Whereupon, at 4:43 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]